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NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. CCCCXXII—APRIL 1912

WE ARE THE GOVERNMENT NOW'

Thus a Miners' Federation leader is reported to have recen expressed himself in the words which head this article. report may, or may not, be literally true. It has not, as vied been publicly contradicted. But it is quite safe to say that eral arrogant statement accurately represents the attitude and fin we of mind of the Federation leaders, who, for years past, wit has ability, perseverance, and foresight that his Majesty's Ministers might well emulate, have been organising the and machinery of the wealthy industrial association they co this very purpose of a general strike in order to attain are present Speaking at Maesteg on Saturday, the 16th of the Vernon Hartshorn is reported to have hid: 'It is they did not the intention of the Federation to see that whatever of a railway was passed it should be of such a nature as to secure. was passed it should be of such a nature as to secure of a railway what they had always contended for—a wage contended the services rendered by them to the community they did their standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was that the workers (i.e. the bout a peaceable standing fact was the bout a pe

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the power and all the power. No one to-day questioned that.'
(The italics are mine.)

For the moment I am not dealing with the merits of the Federation demand, but only with the position assumed by their leaders in regard to it. Although Labour is represented by over forty members in the House of Commons, there has been little talk recently of constitutional action through its Parliamentary representatives. Nothing is, perhaps, more remarkable than the quiescence and apparent impotence of the Labour Party in the House of Commons during this present industrial crisis—the

gravity of which is unprecedented in our history.

'Labour is no longer on the doorstep,' wrote the Clarion in February 1906, after the General Election of that year, 'Labour is now inside'; and it was prophesied that 'things would happen.' Things certainly have happened, the passing of the Eight Hours (Mines) Act and the Trades Disputes Act to wit, among other consequent events. These two Acts have a direct bearing on the present crisis, and may be taken as part of the settled and carefully thought-out Labour policy that was initiated about ten years ago after the 'Taff Vale' decision. The Eight Hours Act for mines has tended to increase the cost of coal production on the one hand, and unwittingly to reduce the wage-earning power of the miner on the other, and so has rendered more acute the economic struggle between profits, rate of wages, and price of The Trades Disputes Act, one of the first Labour pills obediently swallowed by the present Government, soon after their advent to power in 1906, has made Trade Union funds immune from civil action, and so enabled the Federation to tear p industrial agreements between employers and men at their wn sweet will, and without fear of any consequential damages. A month ago the scene changed from the Deliberative and slative Chamber of the representatives of the people to the outh. Armed with the weapon of a general strike, and their being immune from all danger of legal interference, the on leaders had no further use, for the moment, for 'We are the Government now.' se of Commons. no question of sweet reasonableness here; there were vo parties to the discussion; but only one. eaders, were reason, they were master. Our terms, not only the principle of a minimum wage—for this ntly vague term—but the adoption of the schedule rbitrary figures that we, the leaders, choose to pt, they said, in effect, to a popularly-elected democratic, freedom-loving nation, without discussion, our minimum-wage figures, or s of a general strike.

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We are in the process of taking the consequences now. Some 3,000,000 men or more have been thrown out of work, a very large proportion of whom have nothing whatever to do with the coal dispute, and stand to gain nothing by it whichever way it may eventually be settled. Thousands of families have been threatened with hardship and even starvation. They are the innocent victims of an industrial quarrel in which they have no direct interest and which they do not in the least understand. The general transport service of the country has been, of necessity, curtailed. Our industrial and manufacturing centres, and our shipping ports, have been gradually paralysed for want of the cheap fuel which to them is life. In addition to these direct and more or less immediate consequences, the indirect consequences of the coal strike may be even more serious still, because more lasting. Collieries with narrow and deep seams that are difficult to work at a profit, or that are short of capital, once shut down, may not be readily re-opened, if at all. Contracts lost in consequence of the strike may not be regained. Some diversion of business to foreign competitors is certain to take place. Lastly, a much severer and more rigorous selection of workmen may be forced on the coal industry as a consequence of the strike. All these things will tend to permanently increased unemployment and reduced wage-earning capacity.

These are some of the far-reaching consequences that have been forced on our country by the leaders of a Federation numbering one-fiftieth only of our total population, and probably less than one-twelfth of our industrial population. They have been enabled to exercise this tyrannical power—for tyranny it is, and nothing less—first because of their unique position, in that coal-producers have an absolute monopoly of the first necessity and original basice of our industrial greatness—namely, cheap coal; and secondded because of legislation that has freed them from all legal obheral tions.

So the Federation leaders have told us—and the object it has has been more forcibly driven home with every day that that best-has been prolonged—'We are the Government now.' If 'cally and were finally made good, if their arbitrary schedule of wive system ever its merits or its necessity—these points I am no now—were forced upon a possibly reluctant coal it our present result of the strike, and from fear of its results and it they did not then in truth would the arrogance of the Federa. Only a few fully justified, and they would indeed become the also will readily choose to dictate would perforce be thrustened they did their be thrust, in defiance of economic laws, upng about a peaceable of the great industries which are the massible moment. The

kingdom. The immediate and patent results of a general coal strike are nothing like so dangerous as the reckless and revolutionary spirit of which it is the symptom and the outcome. It is not so much the thing itself as the driving-force behind it that will concern the thinking community.

The position is at once so startling and so dramatic in its scope and intensity, that the detached onlooker, if it is possible under present circumstances for any British citizen to assume such a position, naturally asks himself how it has come about and what is the real meaning of it all. No one will seriously contend that a general coal strike is really the best or only way of settling the question of what is a fair wage for the miner. The mere fact of such a method being adopted, the possibility even of its adoption, argues that there must be something wrong in our system of government, some weak point in our executive and constitutional machinery, and that an immediate overhaul of our national body politic is urgently required.

The existence and progress of organic disease in the human body is often secret and insidious for a time. Suddenly some grave but mysterious symptoms appear, necessitating a thorough and immediate diagnosis of the patient. So a strike of this kind, which unless promptly checked threatens grave and even permanent injury to the whole community, appears to indicate the

necessity of a similar national diagnosis.

A general coal strike is clearly differentiated from every other form of industrial dispute or warfare, because of the wideness of its scope and consequences. No statesman or even politician worthy of the name can say, 'I had no idea it would be so serious.' The basis of England's commercial and industrial greatness, as already stated, is comprised in the two words, cheap coal.' The fact that we have a population of nearly fifty Slailion people in these two small islands in the North Sea, largely ndent for their maintenance and livelihood on the continuel and prosperity of our productive and manufacturing induson an never be forgotten or ignored. For the continuance sperity of these industries a permanent and adequate no cheap fuel is a first and absolute necessity. It theres that our coal production is really an affair of national from every point of view, and, although it is carried enterprise, that the community has a right to expect rnment a constant and effective supervision of the ons of the industry, coupled with some degree of pation of events in regard to it.

alle and self-evident propositions, only recited the Miners' Federation have remembered and

acted on them, our Government appear to have ignored or forgotten them. None of our present Ministers can say, 'I did not think a coal strike was really intended.' To do them justice, the Federation leaders have been perfectly explicit on the point all Their policy of a general strike on a certain day was openly indicated months beforehand, and has been steadily elaborated and developed without any concealment whatever. The ordinary citizen paid small attention, the predominant feeling probably being that a settlement of some kind was certain, by Government action or otherwise, in view of the appalling consequences of a stoppage of our national coal supplies, even for a short period. The Press, it is true, the Times in particular, laid stress beforehand on the coming danger. Nevertheless the strike has happened, and what now impresses the impartial but suffering onlooker is the extraordinary impotence of our democratic Government, the evolution of a century or so of a Party system and a gradually extended franchise, in this time of national perplexity and distress. Let us take it for granted that the men have every right to do the best they can for themselves, and that the colliery owners are also entitled to claim some adequate return on the capital they have invested, and are not to be asked to attempt the impossible task of running a colliery on purely philanthropic principles. All this being conceded, our national necessities imperatively demand that in an industry of such scope and importance the combatants, or either of them, shall not be allowed either the opportunity or the means of thrusting the whole community into a state of starvation and industrial paralysis simply because they cannot agree between themselves. 'Salus populi suprema lex.' It is the business of a Government to govern effectively and for the general benefit of all. It was the business of our present Government to have foreseen and provided against the actual event of an openly and long-threatened general coal strike. The inevitable and startling conclusion to which we are driven is that in this England of ours, whose boast it has always been that we are the freest, most enlightened, and bestgoverned country on earth, there is something radically and seriously wrong with the political and administrative system which can permit of such a national catastrophe.

No one supposes, then, for a moment, that our present Ministers did not know of the coming strike, or that they did not realise what the actual happening of it meant. Only a few months ago they had the practical object-lesson of a railway strike, less important only in degree. Everyone also will readily assume that when the event actually happened they did their best, as humane and capable men, to bring about a peaceable and lasting settlement at the earliest possible moment. The

unpleasant and unforgettable feature, from a national point of view, is that, although animated with the best intentions, and—let us assume—endowed with the highest qualities of statesmanship, these same Ministers have been able to accomplish so little.

The simple, overwhelming truth is that this country cannot afford, from any point of view, economic, social, or international, to indulge in industrial disputes of this kind, and general coal strikes least of all. It is incumbent upon us, as a civilised, enlightened, and business people, to take steps to prevent any possibility of a recurrence of a general coal or transport strike in the future.

Alternatively, if this cannot be done, and if it is ever again possible for the leaders of any industrial Federation or Association to say or imply 'We are the Government,' then we have lost our national and political liberty, we have surrendered our faculty for self-government, and we are exposed at any moment to

successful foreign aggression and attack.

What, then, does the strike really mean, and how has it come about? The strike was skilfully engineered by the extreme section of the Federation leaders, whose motive and driving force is Socialism. This has been clearly and concisely put by Mr. Harold Cox in his pungent article, 'Holding a Nation to Ransom,' appearing in the March number of this Review. Mr. Enoch Edwards, M.P., the titular Federation leader, probably says what he is told to say by the more ardent spirits behind him, who, let us assume, really believe in Socialist or Syndicalist These are two mutually destructive forces, only allied now for the common object of destroying private ownership of mines. In the yellow pamphlet recently circulated to Welsh miners, it is, I understand, seriously contended by the Syndicalists that once the capitalist coal-owner is got rid of the industrial millennium will arrive. So the forcible extinction of the owner has been decreed. Make the collieries impossible under the present régime, say the Syndicalists, and eventually they will be confiscated by the State and worked-here is the sublime pathos of it all, almost ludicrous if it were not so harmful-not for the benefit of the nation, but for the sole benefit of the miners engaged. Baldly put, this is the main outline of the case as presented to the Welsh miner. In order to get the English and Scotch Unions into line, the bait of a fixed and arbitrary minimum wage has been held out, alleged to be easily obtainable by a sympathetic strike, coupled with the suggestion that the Welsh coal-owner is a mercenary tyrant making large concealed profits at the expense of the real wealth-producer, the coal-getter. To secure public sympathy for the miner, it has also been neces-CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

sary to describe his occupation as 'penal servitude,' and himself as an overworked and underpaid slave of capital. It has long been obvious to the Federation leaders that a general strike was necessary for their purpose. Partial strikes have often been tried, and failed, because—being only local—they did not appreciably interfere with the nation's coal supply, and so did not terrorise the community at large.

This, then, is a leaders' strike. It is not a genuine miners' strike.¹ The colliers of England and Scotland have been hood-winked and misled by ardent Socialist agitators. They cannot be expected to understand large economic questions, nor are they in a position to judge of and appreciate beforehand the far-reaching consequences of a general coal strike, and until it has been in operation for a period. The disastrous results of their organised action may, however, be dawning on them now, and it is possible that the ultimate outcome of this dearly-bought experience may, some day or other, be a reaction disastrous for the leaders who have misled them.

I know something of the Lancashire collier. Some thousands of them sent me for twenty years to the House of Commons through five contested elections. I have been down their pits. worked for a spell at the face, forgathered with them at their clubs and suppers, and talked politics to them at the pit-mouth and at election meetings. More manly, straightforward, fairly temperate, and industrious lords of their hands do not exist in the British Isles; nor a better-paid class of industrial workers. Working eight hours a day for three or four days a week, they can earn enough to maintain themselves and their families in comfort and put by for their old age, while they thoroughly enjoy their off-days and holidays. To describe their occupation as 'penal servitude' is sheer, unadulterated nonsense. No class of men have been more effectively and quite properly legislated for than the British collier; while their general appearance, health. and physique are a living contradiction to this 'penal servitude' romance.

But they are clubbable and gregarious, with a strong clan-feeling; and so they have readily lent themselves to the purposes of a Federation organised with consummate and unscrupulous ability by ardent leaders inspired by ambitious, but economically impossible Socialistic—or Syndicalistic—dreams. Moreover, their

¹ Of the 880,000 men and boys (or thereabouts) employed below ground, 115,000 voted against the strike; and about 200,000 did not vote at all. There is also good reason to believe that many did not understand what they were voting for; while others voted in the belief that there would be no strike; or that it would only last a few days. The desire to have a holiday and spend some strike funds actuated many. The voting papers were marked in the presence of a Union official.

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Federation is financially strong, as may be gauged from the fact that threepence per collier per week is the minimum contribution to Federation funds,² yielding a possible income of over 500,000l. yearly; while recent legislation places these funds beyond the reach of penalty for corporate breach of contract.

And so the strike came about. Now for a word from the mine-owners' point of view. I have no pecuniary interest in any colliery, and write from an unbiassed and purely outside stand-

point.

It can, I believe, be clearly shown that the aggregate profits of British colliery enterprise are, at most, only just sufficient to pay a moderate rate of interest on the whole capital sunk or employed; while in some cases mines have been frequently worked for years at a loss, and only kept going because allied to some other industry, such as iron or glass works, under the same ownership. In other cases large capital sums have been spent in opening up what have subsequently proved unprofitable collieries. In other words, the capital risks of the enterprise are considerable. A leading British colliery proprietor has informed me that he and his associates have recently expended 400,000l. in sinking a new shaft, equipped with all modern plant and appliances, on which not one penny of return has yet been received, nor will for some years be received, even if conditions had remained as they were before the strike. If the Federation Schedule were granted, this colliery could never pay, the 400,000l. capital would be lost, and 2500 colliers and allied working men in that particular locality would lose their employment; unless, of course, the price of British coal was materially and permanently raised. merely one example of many similar cases that could doubtless be quoted, if required. It is hardly necessary here to discuss the disastrous effect that a permanent rise in the price of coal would have on the railways and industries of our country and on the Welsh export trade, assuming that it were made possible by an import duty on the foreign coal that might otherwise be attracted to our market. If there is any reasonable doubt as to the coal-owners' position, when they tell us that the industry cannot stand the economic strain that Socialist leaders would put upon it; if, in other words, there is any doubt as to their knowledge of their own business and of their sanity-for surely no sane business men would go to the length of permitting a general coal strike if it were financially and economically possible to avoid it by conceding any reasonable demands of the men—then the solution, as a business matter, is a simple one. Let the accounts of the whole industry be compulsorily submitted

 $^{^2}$ From one English colliery, I am informed, the men pay 6d. per week, of which $4\frac{1}{2}d$. goes in salaries to Union officials. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

to a leading firm of auditors, armed with full powers, and we should soon arrive at the real economic truth; the collieries, meanwhile, to be worked as at present, pending the result of the investigation. Unfortunately, the real economic truth is the last thing the Federation leaders desire to ascertain or have revealed. Their policy is reckless and in defiance of economics, while the colliers themselves, except the older and more moderate minority who have all along been opposed to a strike, are mere pawns in the game, either ignorant of economic laws or gulled into believing that their capitalist employers are mercenary wretches, possessors of untold and inexhaustible wealth, that can easily be squeezed out of them if they—the men—only adopt, as they have adopted, this new-forged weapon of a general strike.

This, then, is a general outline of the position that the Government of this country are now called upon to face. 'We are the Government now.' So Democracy is challenged by an

industrial Federation in its midst.

Earlier in this article it has been submitted that his Majesty's Ministers ought to have foreseen and prevented so widespread and general a coal strike; and, alternatively, when they intervened after the strike had come into operation, that they should have done so effectively; also, that their failure in both cases, granted the best intentions and the highest qualities of statesmanship on their part, argues some serious flaw in our constitutional machinery.

The general ground of this indictment is that, in occurrences of this magnitude, the people of this country have a right to expect from their rulers a certain intelligent anticipation of events, and some effective power in promptly dealing with them. In industrial crises of this kind, the national risk incurred is so great that we cannot afford to run it. A general coal strike, if sufficiently prolonged, would be as calamitous as a successful invasion by a foreign foe. The nation has long insisted on the latter danger being adequately provided against. So also, for similar reasons, should the former be made practically impossible.

Let us glance at the facts.

During the months that the strike was being openly threatened and prepared for, the Government apparently did nothing. When it arrived, hastily summoned Ministerial conferences with owners and the men's representatives took place. Early in the proceedings the Prime Minister, on behalf of the Government, committed himself to the statement that he was satisfied a case had been made out for the principle of a minimum wage, though a month before, during the debate on the Address, he had flatly declined to accept this principle. It may fairly be contended that this grave commitment, from which with-

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drawal is now impossible, was hastily and prematurely entered into by the Government, purely for political reasons, and without sufficient justification or knowledge of the facts. Owing to the great variety in the nature and depth of coalseams, and the general conditions of the enterprise, it is probable that the coal industry is least of all industries a fit subject for the application of the minimum-wage principle. Or, to put it another way, if applicable to the coal trade, it is, a fortiori, even more applicable to most other industries. This is a very startling proposition, with far-reaching consequences. It has been conceded, moreover, not to reasoned argument, but to force, as Mr. Balfour, at a later stage, so pithily pointed out. In spite, however, of this important concession to the men, no settlement was arrived at, the Federation leaders insisting on the acceptance of their own schedule without discussion, although the owners intimated that if coerced they would accept the principle of the minimum wage if coupled with adequate safeguards ensuring competent work by the men.

And then, after three weeks' continued strike and futile Government effort, panic legislation was resorted to. The Minimum Wage Bill was introduced, enacting a statutory minimum wage for underground workers, and appointing district Wages Boards with a Government arbitrator to settle district rates, etc. For the first time in our history the price of labour was to be fixed, not by free bargaining between employer and employed, but by statute. This is a complete reversal of the system of industrial relations hitherto obtaining in Great Britain. The questions at once arise: Has this startling change been carefully and properly thought out? How will it work? What precedents are there to justify it? What are the resultant responsibilities thrown

upon the State?

Neither time nor space here permits any adequate attempt to deal with these vital points, but a brief general purview may be permissible while important industrial history is in the making.

It is obvious in the first place that Government action has been guided mainly by political considerations. This may or may not be an unfortunate necessity of the case. At any rate it is an outcome of the present development of our Party system. This statement may be tested and verified in several ways. What would have happened, for example, if positions were reversed, and it had been a case of a general lock-out, not a strike, because the Welsh Coal-Owners' Association, not the men, had torn up the agreement of April 1910, and were insisting on fresh and more onerous terms of employment? The country would have rung from coast to coast with denunciations of the mercenary capitalists who were exploiting for their own advanced. In Public Domain. Gurukul'Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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tage the enslaved underground worker, and, to that end, paralysing the trade of the country. It is certain that such a position on the part of the owners would have been untenable. But the ethics of the procedure are precisely similar in both cases, and equally indefensible. The practical difference is that the Federation claim to control sixty-four seats in the House of Commons.

Again, let us assume the country to have been governed by an enlightened Dictator, or even by a strong and homogeneous majority Government in the House of Commons, entirely independent of the Labour vote. It is at least highly probable, if not quite certain, that in this case a clear intimation would have been conveyed to the Federation leaders, long before the strike actually took place, that any general attempt to hold up the nation's trade would at once be met, as has been done in Australia as well as in Europe, by seizure of Union funds, and prosecution of the Federation leaders for conspiracy against the public weal; that the necessary legislation for these purposes would be rapidly passed; this action also being accompanied by a clear and definite public declaration that all willing workers would be promptly and adequately protected if and when they desired to continue work. At the same time every facility for calm discussion and arbitration might have been offered. One thing is quite certain. Had some such steps been taken in good time, there would have been no strike. This would have been good national business, though it might not have proved, for the present Government, good party tactics.

The Suffragettes have recently destroyed about 20,000l. worth of West-End tradesmen's plate-glass windows by apparently organised action in order to call attention to their cause and attain their object. For this the actual offenders have been promptly and very properly punished, while the leaders are being prosecuted for conspiracy, and their funds and papers seized. doubt this will satisfy our public sense of justice. same time it is impossible to deny the plaintive force of Mrs. Pankhurst's logic, that while errant Suffragettes and their leaders who have no Parliamentary vote are promptly punished, the Government go cap in hand to the Federation leaders, who have been similarly endeavouring to attain their own selfish class desires by means of destructive violence—for this is what in effect the strike amounts to-organised on an infinitely larger and more dangerous scale than anything the Suffragettes have ever attempted.

Surely it would seem to the law-abiding citizen that Mr. Asquith has lost a unique and magnificent opportunity for an act of practical statesmanship that would have secured for him full Unionist support, and discounted the sixty-four arguments of the

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Labour party. Let the 115,000 coal-getters who voted against the strike, as well as the 200,000 who were so indifferent to it as not to vote at all, be assured of adequate protection in their desire to work, and there can be no reasonable doubt that numerous pits would at once re-open. Had such protection, in fact, been publicly proclaimed in good time, it is highly probable that many pits would never have closed at all. Is this protection for willing industry, which is an elemental right of citizenship, beyond the resources of our latter-day civilisation? If coupled with vote by secret ballot of the men without Union official supervision, as the Bishop of St. Asaph, writing with local knowledge, has so clearly pointed out (see the *Times* of the 21st of March), it would make a general coal strike impossible.

It is clear, then, that there was a way to prevent the strike before it actually occurred. It is also clear that there always has been a way rapidly to terminate it, if the Government possessed the courage and determination necessary for the occasion. We ask ourselves, Do a Coalition majority and a Labour vote constitute an insuperable bar to measures required for our national safety? Are the miseries of a prolonged general strike the price we have to pay for our present log-rolling Party system? If this is really the case, then the more thoroughly the lesson is learnt, the greater and more lasting will be the inevitable

reaction.

The Minimum Wage Bill was hastily introduced while the strike was still going on. Calm and deliberate discussion of its provisions was, under the circumstances, unlikely. In ordinary warfare, hostilities are usually suspended while terms of peace are being discussed. The Government have attempted the extraordinarily difficult task of introducing a remedial measure, containing an unprecedented and far-reaching principle, while industrial strife was in actual progress throughout the country.

But the remarkable feature of the Bill was that it, necessarily, accomplished nothing, and, to say the least of it, has not been fervently supported by either of the disputant parties. It was avowedly a stop-gap measure, intended only for the special emergency, and yet it contained no guarantees or compulsory powers for the enforcement of its provisions. The owners, we know, are always prepared to submit to the authority of Parliament, whatever they may think of its wisdom or its partisanship. After a month's strike without definite result, what the Federation leaders urgently required was some means providing them with a more or less dignified retreat from an impossible position, and so, for the time being, enabling them to 'save their face' with the general body of miners in whose pay they are, whom they have so grievously misled, and to whom they must eventually justify their own existence. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

On the other hand, it does not follow, as a result of this kind of legislation, that owners will open their collieries if economic conditions remain impossible, or that the men will be allowed by their leaders to return to work until exhaustion and necessity

compel.

On the 21st of March, in the second-reading debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Balfour, at the request of Mr. Bonar Law, moved the rejection of the measure in a masterly and telling speech well worthy of the occasion. The general grounds for this Unionist opposition were that while the Bill was an ostensible concession to those who 'were holding up society,' and possessed no element of finality, it also contained a far-reaching and unprecedented industrial principle whose consequences no man could The fact that the second reading was carried by a Coalition majority of 123 votes merely emphasises the administrative weakness of the present political position, and of the Coalition Government, which has already been alluded to. Irish Nationalists, who have no direct interest in the coal dispute. and whose political power is out of all proportion to the population they represent, voted solid for the Bill, not on its merits, but because they wished to maintain in office a Government pledged to Home Rule; while the representatives of thirty-five millions of English people showed a united and homogeneous majority against the Bill. The refusal by the Government to insert dayrates in the Bill has been the first-possibly unexpected-intimation to Federation leaders that the Mother of Parliaments has not yet become a mere machine for enacting Trade Union decrees.

The final alternative is a fight to a finish outside the House of Commons between the Miners' Federation and Great Britain's industrial prosperity. But at the time of writing there are some hopeful signs visible, some pacifying agencies at work behind the scenes. The men have clearly been getting restless. The strike has lasted far longer than they anticipated or were led to believe. Many of them-and this number is probably increasing dailywant to get back to work, and may any day throw their leaders over. Union funds are being depleted; nor should the distress in other trades fail to have its due effect on the colliers, and bring

home to them the dire results of their selfish action.

By the time the collieries are all re-opened, furnaces, works, shipping, and industries of all kinds re-started—and these things are not done in a day—an appreciable time will have elapsed, a few more millions of money will have been lost in wages to our industrial population, a little more British trade will have been driven abroad, thousands of innocent women and children will have gone through a further period of bitter hardship and starvation, and the community at large will also, let us hope, have done a good deal of bardy serious thinking dwar

One thing is certain—the Minimum Wage Bill is not the end. but only the beginning, of the matter. There could be no finality in a measure so hastily and rapidly brought forward during a time of strain and stress. 'The Government,' says Mr. D. A. Thomas, in his able and convincing letter on the Coal Crisis appearing in the Times of the 19th of March, are attempting to cure the cancer with sticking-plaster. . . . The surgeon's knife is what is wanted.'

What, then, shall we have gained, as a business and industrial nation, by it all? If we have gained more knowledge of ourselves, of the forces at work amongst us; of the weaknesses and mistakes of Democratic institutions and how to remedy them; of the folly of permitting Federation leaders or any other class of ardent and irresponsible citizens too much organising freedom, particularly where the necessaries of life and trade are concerned; if, let me repeat, we gain more true insight, as a nation, into such matters as these, then the coal strike, with all its damage and its folly and its danger, will not have been endured in vain.

But when industrial peace is again restored, and we are able calmly to take stock of the situation, the reasoning, unbiassed, common-sense portion of our nation, that large bulk of our people whose views constitute public opinion, and from whose verdict, once thoroughly aroused and expressed, there can be no appeal, will doubtless arrive at some clear-cut and fundamental conclusions.

I venture confidently to hope that among these conclusions will be the following: Never again shall the production of the first necessaries of our nation's life and trade, and the means of our transport, be allowed to be the instrument of organised industrial unrest. No longer shall corporate Trade Union action remain freed from the common obligations of honesty and honour, such as are inherent in and necessary to all other forms of civilised human intercourse. No longer, perhaps, shall the insane economic doctrines of Socialism and Syndicalism be allowed to be preached, unchecked, in our midst. And never again shall a Trade Union Executive be allowed arbitrarily to control individual freedom, and to usurp or to claim the functions of Government.

HENRY SETON-KARR.

March 26th, 1912.

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THE COAL STRIKE-AND AFTER

The coal strike has made an impression on the country such as no previous labour dispute has ever made. Perhaps the time to take stock of its genesis and results has not yet come; but it would be a great mistake to regard it as distinct from the great upheaval of the workers of the world which is characteristic of the present moment. Things have been tending to an explosion for several years. As in a volcanic region there are earth tremors before the actual eruption takes place, so there have been threatenings and smaller disturbances before the great outburst of Syndicalism which we have just witnessed. The railway strike of last summer in this country, and its predecessor in France, the strike in South Wales directed against the group of mines known as 'the Cambrian Combine' were such premonitory symptoms. What has been the proximate cause?

Very largely industrial discontent is due to the awakening of the popular intelligence, fostered and at the same time hampered by our necessarily very imperfect system of elementary education; by the broadening of the outlook of the working man and his increased desire to participate in the pleasures as well as the obligations of life. Our system of education stops short at the point where it touches the real problems of modern civilised life. The hackneyed saying that a 'little learning is a dangerous thing' has been illustrated in a startling way. We have in teaching the masses to read opened the gates to a flood of printed matter which, if it contains much truth, is to a large extent a turbid stream of error. Just as the greatest care has to be exercised in the supply of drinking-water, and the law interposes to prevent the use of wells and tainted sources of supply, so in the intellectual sphere care is needed to see that the springs of truth are not polluted by pernicious falsehood; for to poison the mind is no less criminal than to poison the body. It is even worse when it is considered that the effect of the material poison is at once manifest; whereas the mental poison is unobserved until it breaks out in an epidemic of unreason. Education is a means to an end-not an end in itself. It is not sufficient to be able to read :

it is necessary (as Lord Bacon tells us) 'to weigh and consider,' to discern the grain from the chaff, the truth from the lie. And 'who is sufficient for these things?' 'Quis custodiet custodes ipsos?' Whatever appears in print is to the half-educated man sacrosanct. He assumes that what he reads in print is true, and he is incapable of perceiving even very gross fallacies, unless it palpably contradicts his own experience. Party politicians and party newspapers have a great deal to answer for. Their mission is to stir up discontent and to fish in troubled waters. The moderate section of the nation cannot make its voice heard among the blatant bellowings of the extremists. Above all things, the primary laws of Nature as expressed in logic and political economy are hardly ever inculcated; it may be asserted that men of education who know better assert vociferously in public the thing which is not. And as long as truth is bartered for political ends it is no wonder that the unlearned and ignorant are impelled to rush down a steep place and perish.

We are fast losing the restraints of tradition and law. The Decalogue is largely out of date; judicial decisions from the highest authorities are disparaged as being biassed by class-prejudice; and all the securities of an ancient civilisation are going into the melting-pot. The crowd can do no wrong; to employ the forces of the State against the mob is coming to be regarded as tyranny. The Government are supposed to be acting in the interests of the propertied classes, for Prudhomme is now among the prophets—

Property is theft.

The coal strike has been mostly Socialistic in its origin, and Socialism appeals more quickly to the Celtic than to the Teutonic temperament; hence it has obtained a greater hold of the Welsh miners, and of the workers in the Scotch coal-mines amongst whom is a very large Celtic element from Ireland and the Highlands, than of the miners of England itself. No one can have observed the internal differences by which the Miners' National Federation have been swayed first in one direction and then in another without seeing that amongst the representatives of the English miners the old trade-union traditions still prevail, but that even amongst them a considerable movement has taken place in the direction of Socialistic ideas as compared with the comparatively conservative views held by such men as 'Mabon,' Burt, Fenwick, Haslam, Wadsworth, and Edwards, and many others who could be named, who probably regard the recent action of the Federation with considerable misgivings. Certain it is that these men would have been only too glad to have come to arrangements to avoid a strike if they could have carried with them a majority of the delegates of the National Federation. And not only so, but in spite of all that has transpired, these men probably more truly represent the feele

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ings of the working miners of middle age than do the hot-bloods who have forged their way into office, and to whose incitements the strike was due. In the first place, although the figures showed an overwhelming majority in favour of a strike when the miners were balloted, it has become abundantly evident that the real issues as to which the votes were given were never properly understood, and that even amongst the votes which were given in favour of a strike a large number were given in a loose way, with the idea that the voters might as well strengthen their executive in the hope of getting something. The issue from the point of view of the average miner has throughout been a false one. It has been fought on the principle of a minimum wage for all workmen independent of capacity, and it is ostensibly intended to remedy a grievance which is not nearly as real as it has been represented to The public have heard the words 'abnormal places' and 'minimum wage' bandied about until they may well be forgiven for being utterly confused as to what they mean. They read that the Welsh coal-owners are absolutely determined not to grant a minimum wage, but, in the same breath, that they are prepared to grant a fair day's pay in the case where a man is working in an abnormal place. The explanation may be well repeated once more, and it is this: That the whole scale of piece-work prices in collieries is based on normal conditions of work, and that where these normal conditions of work prevail, a collier of average capacity is able to make very excellent wages, varying from 7s. to 12s. a day-to keep within limits which cannot be called exaggerated, as there are an immense number of cases in which the higher limit is Therefore, it follows that as long as the conditions remain normal the opportunity to earn a handsome wage exists, and if a man does not earn it, it must be by reason of some incapacity in himself. If, on the other hand, the conditions of his employment are not normal: if he has physical difficulties to contend with which make it impossible for him to do justice to his efforts: it becomes a case for special treatment. This is what is meant by guaranteeing a day's wage in abnormal places. The man has only his labour to sell, and it is right that if he gives his labour fully and freely he should be equally liberally paid. converse is also true, that if the pay be liberal the labour must be fully and freely given. And this is just where the guaranteed minimum wage is the stumbling-block. While there are men who are able to earn 10s. or 12s. a day, there are other men who by reason of age or debility, or it may be idleness, are not able or willing to earn even an average wage; and the proof of this is, that while the average wage of all the miners at a colliery may be 7s. 6d. or 8s. a day, and there are a large number of men who are

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making more, there are an equal number of men who are making less.

When the Midland coalowners very reluctantly admitted the principle of the minimum wage they made this concession in the hope that it would be sufficient to prevent a strike, and their desire to prevent a strike was much more because they were fully alive to the grave injury which a general coal strike would inflict upon the country than from any selfish desire to prevent it so far as their own business was concerned. It was only conceded subject to such conditions as would secure 'a fair day's work for a fair day's wage ' with regular attendance at work, and with special rates for men who were old or inefficient. Of these safeguards the Miners' Federation as a whole would have none. In the midland counties they would have been agreed to as equitable. agitation, as the men have now discovered, was not something by which the good workman would benefit but something by which he was more likely indirectly to suffer. But it would also not be to the real advantage of the inferior workman, supposing him to be a man who was honestly doing the best of which he was capable. If the minimum is more than the value of his work he must cease to be employed, and from his point of view he undoubtedly suffers a very grievous hardship; for while at present he earns what he can, and is thankful to earn it, under a hard-and-fast minimum wage he would be precluded from earning less than the minimum. It may be that a graded scale may be arranged for the benefit of those people, mostly the older men, but it is obvious that it would be an extremely difficult thing to adjust, and a constant source of friction and dissatisfaction ever afterwards.

What the miners have not remembered and have not realised is that their prosperity is bound up in the well-being of the community of which they form a part. It is impossible for them to flourish if they are sapping the life-blood of the rest of the community. To some extent probably—and here is one of the effects of their ignorance—they look upon their employers as being persons of immense wealth, from whose profits large additional wages could be taken and still leave an adequate return on the capital invested. It has been suggested seriously by Mr. Richardson, of Newcastle, that colliery proprietors ought to be content with 3 per cent. on their capital; and the less intelligent among the miners, seeing a statement put forward by authority and being told that this is the rate at which the Government could borrow money for the purpose of working the mines, think this would be a reasonable rate of interest. It is not worth while in the pages of this Review to argue that such a contention is quite absurd, that where a business is dangerous as well as fluctuating, and in the highest

degree speculative, a return of 3 per cent. would not attract any capital at all, and that if that limit were imposed on colliery undertakings (or even 5 per cent.) the miners would soon find themselves without work, because there would be no collieries where they could be employed.

The experience of the Prussian Government at the present time is of special interest because they have embarked on a costly experiment in the direction of the nationalisation of coal mines, of which we are able to see some of the results. is well known, the German coal trade, which in the sixties could hardly support its existence, sought salvation in syndicating its sales. They decided that every colliery should sell its output to a syndicate, and by this means avoid internecine competition. The syndicate proved a great success, largely because it was conducted on wise and statesmanlike lines, with the knowledge that its prosperity was dependent on the prosperity of the trades which it served. Prices, while leaving a margin of profit for the collieries, were not only kept on a moderate level, but were not changed oftener than once a year, or even at longer intervals, except under exceptional circumstances. The collieries earned dividends, most of them from 12 to 8 per cent., and were able to develop their mines on the most up-to-date lines. But the existence of such a powerful combination as the Rhenish-Westphalian Syndicate filled many statesmen with apprehension; and above all the State appeared to be in a false position when it was entirely dependent on the supply of fuel for its railways on a combination of private individuals. The Prussian State were already owners of collieries in the Saar district, and these had yielded fair profits, although it is very difficult to arrive at what the profits actually were, owing to the peculiar method of treating depreciation and new expenditure; but the position of the Saar mines is isolated, and they may be said to have served a market of their own. All the mines, with one or two exceptions, belonged to the Prussian Government, and they could make the price what they liked. In 1902 it was decided that an attempt should be made on the part of the Government to acquire some control of the Coal Syndicate, and with this object it was attempted to purchase certain important collieries as well as to acquire coalfields and put down new pits. A law was passed abrogating the right to bore for minerals and acquire rights of working, with a view to preventing the further extension of the monopoly in coal lands which the Syndicate were endeavouring to establish.

In the preamble of the law in 1902, three objects were set forth:—

(1) To secure an independent supply of coal for the Prussian State Railways.

(2) To exercise some influence on the Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate.

(3) To make profits which would be available for public

purposes in relief of taxation.

The Prussian Government is the most practical and businesslike in the world, and they already possess a very highly trained staff of mining engineers. They had the example of the private companies to guide them, and one would have supposed that they would have not been inferior in the management of their enterprises to the large private companies with whom they were about to compete. They put forth a memorandum (a pièce justificative) with regard to the three collieries with which they were making a beginning, and they showed in a tabulated statement the profits which it was assumed these State collieries would make. These calculations proved to be entirely wrong, and the amount which it was estimated the collieries would cost was also quite wide of the mark. As a matter of fact, the capital cost of these collieries was just twice as much per ton of annual output as the average of the privately-owned collieries in Westphalia, and three times as much as the average cost of the most modern collieries in Great Britain. The assumed profits were not made, and some seven millions of money had been expended in 1909 carrying interest at 31 to 4 per cent. Whether any return is being earned on this large sum is very doubtful, but it has been calculated in a paper under the reliable signature of Dr. Jüngst, of Essen, that if a profit of 6d. a ton is being made, which is more than doubtful, the return on the capital can only be 13 per cent. The last money borrowed was at the rate of practically 4 per cent. Therefore, instead of the State deriving any benefit from these mines, it is at present losing 23 per cent. on a sum which now considerably exceeds 7,000,000l. The Government now admits its inability to conduct these mines independently of the Syndicate, and it has applied for admission into that body; and has been admitted. In this respect, the only difference between the State mines and the private mines will in future be that in the one case the money is public money earning less than the market rate of interest, and that the private mines, deprived though they are of the supply of coal for the State railways and at a disadvantage as compared with those companies who have not only collieries but ironworks, are able to make fair profits. The rates of wages at the State mines and the private mines are not very dissimilar, but it is obvious that the State mines could not afford to be generous to their employees except by a further drain upon the public purse.

So far as we in this country are concerned, we are affected by the Rhenish-Westphalian Syndicate's operations mainly in the development of their export trade. This has been carefully fostered for many years, and the principle has been that of edging into the British markets at whatever price would secure the business, quite irrespective of the price obtainable in Germany. The losses on the exported coal are made good out of the better prices obtained at home. Thus the German consumer is for the time being subsidising the consumers in the export market: not very good business for him, but it is even more disastrous for us! Let us see something of the development of the German

export trade during the past few years.

In 1907 the total quantity of coal shipped at Rotterdam (most of which went to the French Bay ports and the Mediterranean) was 577,000 tons, while for the twelve months ending the 31st of March last year the amount shipped was 2,601,000 tons. A further increased tonnage is going from the Westphalian collieries viâ the Port of Emden. In addition to these exports by sea, to our former markets, the Germans are exporting greatly increased quantities by rail, barge, and steamer to countries and districts which used to be supplied by British coal viâ the Mediterranean and other ports. The quantity so placed has increased within the last seven years from about 6,000,000 tons to 30,000,000 tons per annum. These figures show that, as things are, the Germans are rapidly gaining, and Great Britain is gradually losing ground in markets where a few years ago we had a practical monopoly.

Of our British districts, Northumberland, Fife, and South Wales depend mainly on export trade, and the Midland counties are developing this part of their business rapidly. About onefourth of the coal produced in Great Britain is exported. It is vital that the cost of production should not be increased to an extent which would cripple our power of competition. There are, of course, economists who think that the export of our coal is all wrong, and that we ought to save it for future generations. Whether they are right or wrong, so far as the working miner is concerned it would be a fatal blow to him if any very large proportion of our export trade were lost and the coal thrown on the home market: which, of course, that market would not be able to absorb. Prices in such a case—as always when Supply exceeds Demand would fall, the more unprofitable collieries would close, and the result would be lower wages and more unemployment. What the collier has to realise is, that the first condition of his prosperity is a market which will take the largest quantity of his product, and that if he curtails that market by making his product too dear, he is killing the goose which lays the golden eggs for him. The minimum wage will undoubtedly increase the cost of production. About that there is no dispute. The question is: To what extent will the

trade be able to stand it? The employer is in truth only the middleman, who provides for an average return of something like 5 per cent. from the mines and plant by which the collier earns his daily bread. The ultimate person who must pay for higher wages or less work for the collier is the consuming public, and the prosperity of Britain has been built up on cheap coal. Can the public pay much more than it is paying? Possibly by adopting more economical ways of utilising the heat-values of coal it may be able to get more work out of a given quantity of coal than it does at present, and in this way save itself. But by making less coal do more work, it will be pro tanto diminishing the demand for the collier's product, and more particularly for the higher-priced coals, since the cheaper and smaller varieties are just those which are most suitable for gasification. Thus the average price of coal from the seller's point of view may be affected in a downward direction, and the ability to pay higher wages correspondingly decreased. We have, on the one hand, a demand for increased pay, negatived in the opposite direction by a shrinking market. These can only be reconciled, if they can be reconciled, by a reduced number of men earning a higher wage, and a correspondingly larger number of men out of employment and forced to earn their living in callings where the pay is not so good.

It may be said that these are interested arguments, and, like all pessimistic views of the future, have been found to be wrong many times in the past; but the cry of 'Wolf, wolf!' was at last justified when people had ceased to believe in it. At the present moment we have to contend with the cheap coals of Japan and China in the Eastern markets; we have rapidly developing water-power and electricity taking the place of coal; and, lastly, we have the competition of mineral oil. All these things will have a prejudicial effect on the coal trade of the future. If only the miners realised the situation, their great object would be to conserve that which they at present possess, and to take every precaution not to risk losing it, like the dog in the fable dropping the bone he had in his mouth for that which he saw reflected in the water.

It is the ignorance of simple economic facts which ought to be brought home, and these facts instilled into the minds of British working-men in all the various educational institutions of the country, instead of political clap-trap for which any number of talented speakers can be found. It is doubtful, it is to be feared, whether anyone to whom the working-men would listen could be found to tell them truths on which their livelihood depends, but it seems to be the need of the time. If their leaders do not know these facts, they ought to know them, and if the blind lead the blind, they must inevitably fall into the ditch, and not the colliers only, but the whole country with them.

When all the illusions of a future of universal plenty and good will have been scattered by the stern experience of the operation of economic law, the working-man will realise that the fund out of which comes the means of his subsistence is rigidly limited, and he will realise that the present moment has been a fatal orgy of unreason.

GEORGE BLAKE WALKER.

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DIPLOMACY AND PARLIAMENT

THE session of 1911, notable as it was for its legislation, marks also an epoch in respect of foreign affairs. Leading dailies have expressed the view that, momentous as is the legislative record of the year, its administrative work, and particularly in the foreign sphere, is equally epoch-making, because it 'certainly denotes the awakening of the private member to the importance of real control by the House of Commons over administration.' situation is under discussion to a degree quite unique in recent years. The greater part of the Press, including the whole of the Liberal newspapers, assumes that public discussion is desirable; it is only the papers most inclined to express opinions on diplomacy themselves which are disposed to question whether Parliament has any right to an opinion in the matter, and to condemn the individuals who express one. In so doing the supercilious experts have touched the spot, for the question should certainly be fully debated-What is the function of Parliament in regard to foreign affairs?

Parliament represents the voice of the people, grudgingly admitted, after many centuries, to control of domestic interests, but, even less than in other times and other countries, allowed to touch with clumsy fingers the delicate machine of international relations. The principle, as well as the practice, of Parliamentary control is worth discussing, though, with characteristic neglect of logic, the practice of public intervention takes place first; the principle on which it should be grounded is only discussed because the need of a theory is afterwards felt. In British politics, as Professor Sidgwick observed, principles are only sought for as a justification of practice, which is not at the time of action based on principles at all. It is, therefore, typical of English life that we should be brought for the first time to ask whether Parliament should intervene, by the fact that, owing to the Moroccan crisis

of 1911, it has intervened already.

The present outburst of public and Parliamentary interest is due to the Anglo-German situation, and to the discovery that this situation brought the country to the verge of war. But for this there would have been no such fever of anxiety as is evident to-day CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

when any opportunity presents itself for public expression. This has astonished those who have seen it at public meetings of many kinds, notably at the gatherings of the various Liberal federations, and especially at the Central Federation meeting at Bath. But Conservative organs have been almost equally insistent, and their leaders in the House scarcely veiled their criticism of the Government's treatment of Germany last July. They appeared more pacific than the pacifist Liberals themselves.

Putting then the cart before the horse, let us recall to our minds the main concerns of British foreign policy, for which Parliament has in the past intervened. These have been, apart from commercial arrangements and business matters generally, the maintenance of peace, and, secondly, the support of national rights or the promotion of prosperity among misgoverned peoples. In point of fact, the latter in recent times has occupied a large

share of the time of the Foreign Office staff.

The function of Parliament is the more easily discussed, because parties are not markedly divided to-day. The negotiation of commercial treaties may induce differences of opinion, felt alike by Liberals and Conservatives, Free Traders and Protectionists. but on the strictly political side, parties follow the same general lines. Even a Radical writer, as, for instance, Mr. Gooch, in his History of Our Time, says 'While domestic controversy remains acute, a considerable measure of agreement has been reached in regard to external questions.' Both parties accept the Japanese Alliance and the triple entente, both support full arbitration with the United States, and the maintenance of a supreme navy. so far as recent events are concerned, it has even been suggested that Conservative leaders are not less devoted to peaceful foreign relations than the Liberal Government, but possibly more so; while in regard to the policy of assisting misgoverned populations abroad, Lord Lansdowne is perhaps the most highly praised for his activity. As to Turkey, Morocco, Persia, China, there are no divergent views which follow party lines.

It has, indeed, been the deliberate policy of modern times to establish continuity. This idea, introduced by Lord Rosebery in the early nineties, has taken firm root, and though, by removing foreign affairs from party discussion, it has gradually decreased the public interest in them, it has led to a certain movement of views on both sides towards a common measure.

The main objects of policy being common to all parties, we are all concerned with the question: What is the way to carry them out? What is the international function of the supreme political body in this or any modern State? It is to regulate its own procedure, and to perfect its official machinery, so as to ensure a measure of harmony between governmental action and public

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opinion. Sir Edward Grey, in his great speech on arbitration with America, made repeated appeal to public opinion as the true basis of action.

I.—MACHINERY.

First in importance is the official machine. The aim is to perfect the systems of the Foreign Office and of Diplomacy. But perfect them as you will, they will in these days be more in sympathy with one party than the other.

The upper class, which has long lost its administrative domination over home government, retains it in foreign affairs. Till recent times the admixture of Liberalism in this class, and the partial control exercised by Parliament, removed the practical objection to class domination. But both these factors have disappeared. While the upper class has become more entirely Conservative, Parliamentary control, weakened under Lord Salisbury, was not revived even after the Liberal victory of 1906, because political energy was absorbed in domestic politics. Thus at the very moment when international forces are becoming more democratic, progressive, and pacific, the inspiration of our diplomacy tends to grow more discordant with the public opinion it should represent.

But some further steps can obviously be taken to make the instrument less absolutely out of sympathy with a Liberal Government than at present it is bound to be. The Foreign Office suffers, not only from the natural infirmities of all officialism, but from the abnormal misfortune of being practically free from criticism.

It is notorious that Foreign Office opinion is out of touch even with the opinions of diplomacy. An ambassador once remarked to Lord Salisbury: 'For the first time in my experience you are doing what we ambassadors approve.' The Foreign Secretary replied: 'Then there certainly must be something wrong with the policy.' The retort was not merely a good specimen of Lord Salisbury's ironical humour; it indicates what is at all events of great interest to the public—that when a policy has been pursued which brought us close to a great war, it was probably not supported by the chief diplomats on active service.

Not content with the dangerous security of isolation, the Foreign Office adds the danger of restricted competition for places in its service. Like other offices, it has to control interests of great complexity, not only political, but in regard to trade and finance. For instance, though the Government seldom makes advances by loan itself, and does not directly control, as the French Government does, the issue of a loan by its authority over the Stock Exchange list, yet in effect its power is equally great, because a foreign loan cannot be issued without the statement that CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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it has the imprimatur of the Foreign Office. In a similar way the Home Office, having to cope with highly complicated interests of trade, is obliged to furnish itself with experts of equal knowledge to that of the traders. A Departmental Committee dealing, let us say, with factory regulations, is entirely subservient to the superior knowledge of the manufacturers concerned, unless the Home Office has upon its staff equally well-informed officials. In both cases, therefore, the very best available men must be induced to join the service, and above all is this essential in the Foreign Office, whose business is treated as an art so difficult as to be best shrouded in mystery. Bankers who finance foreign States deserve understanding treatment at the Foreign Office. Yet, paradoxically enough, this very office, by restricting the field of competition for places in the service, deliberately denies itself the use of the best available talent.

The same may be said in even more marked degree of the diplomatic service. In this case the candidate has not only to pass the gauntlet of nomination, which is intended to limit the profession to members of the 'upper ten,' but has to show that he has private means to the extent of not less than 400l. a year. It is notorious that in reality a man will be rash to enter the service without considerably more means than even this. no doubt desirable in many cases that he should be able to return invitations, so that by entertaining and being entertained, he can make himself acquainted with important people. To be comfortable, therefore, and to do his work thoroughly he must be worth a great deal more than 400l. a year, for his official pay is a negligible quantity. But this is not all. He may be moved at frequent intervals, and though the travelling allowances have been somewhat increased, it still happens that a man may be moved three times in four years, each removal costing him a round 400l. The pay of junior secretaries does not greatly exceed the difference between the cost of living abroad and at home.

One result of this is that the men who take up diplomacy are, in many cases, rich men who want an interest in life, or who intend to retire after a few years. These have no urgent incentive to succeed in the profession. The effect upon their activities may be foreseen.

A still more important question is that of amalgamating the Foreign Office and diplomatic services. An exclusively Foreign Office training provides only a paper knowledge of foreign countries. The diplomat, on the other hand, loses touch with English life and thought. One result of the system is the complete dependence of the foreign on the home branch, and the consequent lack of solidarity. And further, anything which increases the efficiency of the missions abroad brings them into closer touch with

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the public of those countries to which they are in theory accredited. Amalgamation should be complete.

Again, in other States the diplomatic and consular services are frequently interchanged. Our own tradition is far more aristocratic. The promotion from the consular to the diplomatic corps is so rare that the cases of Sir William White and Sir Ernest Satow are conspicuous, indeed almost unique. The United States, in their Consular 'Inspection' Service, have an institution which maintains the tone of the consular corps, and provides a stepping-stone to diplomacy. In Italy, the Foreign Office is

largely manned by consuls.

Now what is the sound reason for our privileged caste system? It is that a diplomatist should freely make himself acquainted with people of importance. But on this point two things may be remarked. First, if that is his duty, the best work will be obtained by paying him for it; secondly, in these days real power resides increasingly in classes outside the 'upper ten'; in hands, one might say, which, though they may be washed for dinner, do not put on dress clothes. Suppose the French Government desires its diplomats to have personal knowledge of the forces at work in Even though foreign affairs are under bureaucratic rather than democratic control, the French Minister would expect his men to be acquainted with many non-aristocratic political forces whose ultimate importance is worth considering. what use to the Minister would be a man who mainly studied the rich? He should no doubt cultivate many circles, including nonpolitical coteries which would bring him into touch in a social way with political people, without the appearance of deliberate search for political information. But the most arduous efforts would fail, if confined to the West End. He could by far simpler means, and without any really expensive entertaining, inform his Government of the forces which count with Mr. Asquith's Government.

Can it be urged that a privileged system is more specially suited to our needs than those of other States? This will hardly be held by anyone familiar with the impression often made by Englishmen They have indeed maintained that kind of prestige which consists in being thought different from, and more exclusive than, any other nation, but possibly not different in a manner that conduces to the increase of influence. What is there peculiar in the relation of the English towards Continental peoples? the essentials of character, of moral force and honesty, both political and private, we must own to finding ourselves, from whatever cause, greatly superior to many younger peoples; but this brings with it the natural defect of the Pharisee—the man who, not imagining, but knowing, his own nation's superiority, thinks it a ground for a genial contempt of less favoured people. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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We all remember the story published by the present Under-Secretary to the Home Office. An English lady travelling abroad was asked by her companion why she never spoke to the people in their own language. She replied: 'I don't care to talk to them; it only encourages them.'

What is the moral of this? Does it favour the method of a privileged caste, and support the exclusive tradition? or does it suggest a system specially democratic, embodying the principles of sympathy and activity, in order to counteract the special dangers

of our international position?

There are backward countries where European advisers are brought in to supply knowledge and skill. In two of these I have heard the comparative merits of English and other officials keenly discussed, and not with advantage to the Briton. I do not allude to the recent sneers of a well-known Russian writer at 'the typical coiffure and monocular equipment,' but rather to the preference for golf as against work, which discounts the Englishman from the point of view of utility to a needy Government; and I have heard it argued by a very clever Mahommedan, who had studied at Cambridge, that in what foreigners call 'snobbism' the Englishman attained a degree of sublimity which he had not detected in France or Germany. He said that in the lecture class to which he belonged there was one student, and one alone, of ability and interest; but in social circles, though he met all the dull ones, he never met the clever one. The explanation which he received, namely, that the clever man was not a 'gentleman,' he had never been able to understand. This was a sample of the phenomena which made him for all practical purposes anti-He is a Turk, wielding almost unique influence at a moment when the friendship of Turkey is not a quantité négligeable.

To turn to another side of the matter—the diplomat's outlook. All diplomats will recognise, in the description given in the House of Commons by Baron de Forest, something which hit the nail. 'By habit and by tradition a diplomatist is accustomed to look upon himself as perpetually engaged in a species of contest with the diplomatists of other nations, and it is essentially, if I may call it so, a game of skill'. . . 'and that issue assumes in their minds an importance derived not from the principles involved, but from the mere fact that it is an issue'. . . 'and unfortunately when the game fails, as it often does fail, and each side has stale-mated the other, and matters have come to a deadlock, then the financial resources, and unfortunately the lives of the people are called upon to achieve the successes which diplomatic methods

have failed to secure.'

Is there not a final argument for reform in the just claims of CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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the existing members of the service? They are a small body of public officials, working under great difficulty, doing their work with the greatest ability, good nature, and tact. Why should they be denied that system of adequate pay and appointment by merit, which all other branches of the public service cherish as their best security?

II.—PARLIAMENT.

A Liberal Government is at an obvious disadvantage in attempting to carry out its policy through anti-Liberal instruments. Some counter-weight to this influence must be found, and we are brought at this point to the question with which we began: What is the function of Parliament in regard to its own procedure?

The thing to realise here is the overwhelming responsibility which rests upon a Foreign Minister. His is the point of view

from which things should be judged.

Now, considering the intolerable amount of work which does occupy him, or ought to occupy him, it is clear that he must naturally seek to reduce to a minimum the amount of attention which must be given to anything beyond the study of his diplomatic task itself. Again, the indiscreet utterance of views is a positive evil in itself when it is misinterpreted abroad. Such views by private persons he cannot control; and as coming from the Press he cannot always influence. It would appear that his best opportunity for serving the needs of his position is to endeavour to regulate such expressions where alone he can efficiently regulate them, viz., in the House of Commons. The public at large is far removed from diplomatic affairs, and only discusses them when greatly alarmed or greatly angered; but the public would be satisfied by the sense that Parliament, as distinct from the nation, was officially concerned, as it is in France, with foreign things. If there is to be discussion outside the Foreign Office (and this, whether right or wrong, is inevitable), it is best, from the point of view of the Minister, that it should be centred in what might be called the semi-public field, viz. Parliament, thus effecting a kind of compromise with democracy. Such a semi-official treatment would take the place of that 'democratic control' of which it is vain to speak in this connection.

To come to concrete proposals, there is a demand for more debate in the House. We have been told more than once by Sir Edward Grey that he is perfectly ready for more debates if the House desires them; and undoubtedly it will do so. But we have occasions when, as last July, open debate would involve excessive risks. At the moment when Mr. Asquith spoke on the Agadir affair, he said: 'I would venture in the general interest to make

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a strong appeal to the House not on the present occasion to enter into further details, or upon controversial ground.' It is open to argument, in view of subsequent events, whether the situation to-day might not be happier, if this appeal had not been made, or if it had been ignored. But let us freely grant that there are occasions when open debate is a mistake. What then is the moral? It is that debates, as in other countries, should take place, but should not be reported. With our existing fetish of free speech, we end in sacrificing speech altogether, and we assume also that such a treatment of the Press would not be tolerated. But why should it be assumed that men of such genuine political interest as Lord Northcliffe and Mr. Cadbury are not willing to consider the interests of their country?

If and when we adopt such a rational system, there will still be need for further systematisation because, through lack of time alone, an imperial Parliament, which is also a national Parliament, cannot spare many days.

We come, then, to the method of committees.

It must be realised that this country, except on the point of formal question and answer, has less equipment for dealing with foreign matters than other States. It might be thought that from the point of view of a Government, official committees would provide the best means of minimising debate. A minister must desire either to gag discussion or to educate those who take part in it. But it appears from a recent answer by the Prime Minister, that ministerial responsibility would find itself in danger from such a system. Governments naturally defend themselves as a Ours, in self-defence, maintains the theory that if one minister falls, all must fall with him; and the facilities for criticising a minister are thought to be increased by the foreign system of sectional committees. This refusal of governments to allow criticism of individual ministers is the only ground for that attack on the party system which will possibly succeed (under the leadership of Mr. Belloc) in compelling a concession on this In foreign matters criticism might not be increased, but diminished, by the French system of official committees. any case, the opposition to official committees may give way to a realisation of the solid advantage of the nation itself.

We have, however, at present, rather to consider the private (unofficial) committees. These, of course, have long prevailed informally. The men who are specially interested naturally cooperate, and innumerable committees exist—devoted, for instance, to arbitration, reform in Turkey, foreign affairs in general, Congo atrocities, or conditions of slavery, in the Empire and outside it. There are also outside committees dealing with special foreign causes, each with their affiliated committee of members of the

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House on special subjects; and as critics on international matters in general there are such bodies as the New Reform Club, the National Reform Union, and the Foreign Policy Committee.

What is new is the formation, in the Liberal and Labour parties, of 'groups,' as distinct from self-appointed committees. that is to say, bodies chosen by individual communication with every member of the party. The trouble involved in forming such groups is only undertaken when the motive force is unusually strong and widespread. It is due in this case to the feeling that Parliament has abrogated its function in regard to foreign things, and that, therefore, parties should organise the vastly increased interest expressed by the public and the newspapers. The movement is not an attempt to get diplomatic negotiations made public. and it has no united opinion in regard to naval estimates. the other hand, it is a protest against the obscurantist doctrine of diplomacy. It deprecates, as Conservatives do also, the change encouraged during the last few years—the concealment from the public of the general outlines of our foreign policy, and of the grounds for the new theory of continental entanglement. Liberals feel that this is based on an assumption, as to the designs and powers of one great continental State, which cannot be substantiated; and it is felt that the policy is virtually dictated by a very small number of permanent men at the Foreign Office, and in diplomacy. It is obvious that a Liberal Government has a difficulty in carrying out its views, and that the friction with Germany has been partly due to the private opinions of some of our diplomatists. This should be balanced by the expression of views in Parliament.

If there is to be discussion in the House it is essential to keep it well informed and practical. For this purpose an unofficial representative committee has obvious value. Such a committee would have avoided the spasmodic expressions of sympathy with other States which proved so dangerous at the time of the It will ensure concentration upon govern-Turco-Greek War. mental action, and no generous impulse must deter it from this guiding principle; for if no good can result from agitation, agitators should keep quiet. The advice of experts can be secured, so that the time for action may be rightly chosen, and false hopes or false fears abroad may not be raised. In any given case it can be ascertained whether the Government intends to act and whether it Satisfied on this point, what an welcomes open support. organisation can do is to provide a Foreign Minister with an argument which he can use abroad, based on the fact that public opinion demands activity. In regard to proposals for joint action by the Powers, such an argument was used by Lord Salisbury

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and Lord Lansdowne. Clearly, if any such co-operation is to exist between the official and the unofficial world, Parliament is the place where it is most feasible.

In the present state of things it would appear that such a system of regularised party committees is the best available. customary among a section of the Conservative Press to sneer at unofficial utterances on foreign relations. But such sneers need not be noticed, coming as they do from those editors most given to censorious utterances on foreign affairs themselves. A minister may well be excused, in the chaos of work which should occupy him, for neglecting the question of the function of Parliament. But why should he not utilise for this purpose the Under-Secretary, who is intended to be a link between the Minister and the House? When resentment ceases to be shown towards interest in foreign things, such party committees may prove to be doing to Governments the good turn that they need. The Minister's convenience may be served in spite of himself. When organised interest is treated with respect, the unbalanced enthusiast, who refuses to work with others, will by a natural process be controlled, while the Government will be relieved of the temptation to crush him.

For the fact that interest has not in this way been organised in the past, perhaps the private member, too readily accepting the view that he can effect nothing except by attaining office, is most to blame. Now that public anxiety and growing political education have forced Parliamentary opinion to organise itself, such a system of party committees, failing the freedom of unreported debate, and the safety-valve of official committees, would appear to be the convenient course for Government and country alike.

But official committees in the end will be forced upon us, not only by the growing interest of the House in policy, but by the inevitable grant to Parliament of the control over treaties. power of ratification has been claimed as a Parliamentary right; it will be granted rather as a necessity of efficient negotiation with other countries. Again, we find the cart before the horse. Ministers and Ambassadors will find Parliamentary control a useful weapon in bargaining, as the American Government has found the Senate Committee to be. The objection 'democratic' influence, but if the system was adopted by America, when in the eighteenth century she endeavoured to embody in her Constitution the power of George III., and if it is adaptable to autocratic Germany, it can hardly be over 'democratic.' principle has been voluntarily adopted in regard to the Declaration of London and the U.S.A. Arbitration Treaty. In both cases the American Government gains, by the fuller knowledge of public

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opinion, and still more by the bargaining power obtained through the need of referring to a popular body. In both cases the English Government loses from want of the same factors.

With ministerial responsibility already in force, Parliamentary influence exercised through a committee may be thought superfluous; but if ministers are well-informed enough, and strong enough to control their officials, they will not be embarrassed by it. If they are not (and being human they cannot be) perfectly informed, and perfectly powerful, they will be glad of the committee's support.

NOEL BUXTON.

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THE REAL ISSUE IN IRELAND

On the eve of the introduction of the third Home Rule Bill, it is important to state succinctly the nature and the consequences of the revolution which has taken place in the conditions of the Irish problem during the past eighteen years, and to present in clear terms the choice which now lies before the two parties to this agelong conflict.

Fundamentally the issue remains the same, to govern Ireland by consent, or to govern her against the consent of the great majority of her inhabitants. The time-worn arguments for the latter course still poison the air; arguments drawn from fear, contempt, selfishness, racial prejudice, pessimism, and used from time immemorial, in spite of every successive proof of their falsity, just as freely and sincerely in the British Empire as in other parts of the world, for the justification of tyranny. The Quarterly Review, for example, faithful to the traditions which caused it in 1839 to describe the great Durham Report—the charter of the self-governing Colonies—as 'rank and infectious' in 1912 still pours out a stream of insult and pessimism upon Ireland in her efforts to obtain the responsible government which proved the salvation of a stagnant and rebellious Canada. The counterplea for freedom, as a universally proved source of loyalty, harmony, and progress slowly works to counteract the poison. But in the case of Ireland, as modern facts reveal the present problem, the terms of this ancient debate are becoming almost grotesquely antiquated, irrelevant, and sterile.

The illumination comes from finance, and dates from 1896, when the Report of the Royal Commission upon Financial Relations was published, and when the annual Treasury Returns, upon which it was largely based, received public attention. The Commissioners were almost unanimous upon the main conclusion, which was, that Ireland, a very poor agricultural country, and Great Britain, a very rich industrial country, were not fit subjects for the same fiscal system. They made no unanimous recommendation, but two distinct remedies were foreshadowed by individual Commissioners. One was to give Ireland a financial autonomy of her own, with full control both over expenditure,

which in Ireland was very wasteful and extravagant, and over revenue; the other was to compensate Ireland for unjust and unsuitable taxation by spending more public money on her. The former remedy was refused; the latter, a fallacious and vicious palliative, was adopted, with all the more willingness, in that it fitted in with the mood of the Unionist statesmen who were responsible for Ireland for twenty years from 1886, with one short interval, and assisted the change of policy from determined, almost frenzied, opposition to the most elementary reforms in Ireland, whether religious or economic, at whatever cost to Ireland in the brutalisation, expatriation, and impoverishment of her people, to a policy of spontaneous paternalism.

Paternalism from without, coupled with the deliberate extinction of a sense of national responsibility within, is always, and in every country, a system which combines the maximum of cost with

the minimum of efficiency.

The upshot to-day is that the expenditure upon Ireland exceeds the revenue derived from her by 2,000,000l. At the time of the earlier Home Rule Bills the position was reversed. Ireland then made a net contribution of about 2,000,000l., over and above her local State expenditure, to the Army, Navy, and other Imperial services. Now, so far from contributing, she receives what is virtually an annual subsidy of the same amount. This subsidy came into being in 1909 after the grant of old-age pensions. And its amount is steadily rising.

Ireland, regarded as a separate entity, is an insolvent burden upon the taxpayers of Great Britain. This is the outstanding fact behind the modern Home Rule issue. From the Irish point of view the Union, as a financial proposition, pays. From the British point of view it is a dead loss, and an increasing loss. The question for Ireland becomes, in a far more clear and urgent sense than before, one of self-respect and self-reliance. The question for Great Britain, moral obligation apart, is summed up in the words:

'Is the Union worth the price?'

The phenomena before us are perfectly normal, the motives behind them as old as the human race itself. There are only two ways of conducting government against the consent of the governed—namely, by pure force, or force and corruption combined. This was a commonplace with the British political philosophers of the eighteenth century, who applied it to the unreformed Constitution of their own country. The maxim was elevated into a perfect system, and openly justified as such, in the case of eighteenth-century Ireland, and it still holds good, though the application is more subtle and more plausible, in modern Ireland.

Time, the growing political strength of nationalism, the waning strength of the landed and religious ascendency, and the

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growth of ordinary fairness in public life, have contributed greatly to mitigate that form of indirect persuasion which consists in making official and legal posts the monopoly of the ascendant class or creed. The grievance still exists in Ireland, but it is no longer what it was. A danger more serious and widespread, while more insidious, threatens her. It is reflected in eloquent figures in the annual Treasury Returns and in the growing deficit to which I have already referred. Twelve millions go into Ireland in the shape of local expenditure, only 10,000,000l. come out of her in the shape of local revenue. Even a cursory analysis of Irish expenditure shows very clearly what is taking place. Irishmen, from the highest to the humblest, but above all the humblest and poorest of both creeds and races, are, in a purely financial sense, directly interested in the maintenance and increase of this bribe. expenditure falls into two broad categories. The first comprises old-age pensions, which account for no less than 2,600,000l., more than a fifth of the total. Any serious economist must pronounce half the old-age pensions, which are given on the high scale designed for wealthy and industrial Great Britain, as charity, when distributed among a population where agricultural wages average 11s. a week, or 7s. or 8s. less than in England and Scotland respectively. All the rest of the expenditure passes to or through the separate quasi-colonial bureaucracy of Ireland—the swollen police force, the crowd of irresponsible boards, the hosts of officials. There is no healthy check either upon the numerical size of the bureaucracy or upon its remuneration, and all classes are tempted to join in a conspiracy to keep both unnaturally high. Productive work is penalised. The police, for example, are largely drawn from the agricultural population, and receive pay from the very start which is double what an agricultural labourer can hope to attain to in his whole life. It is a commonplace that the force is twice as numerous and costly as in Great Britain, where crime is relatively greater. But consider the economic and social forces which, under the present system, militate against reduction. The mischief pervades every branch of administration. It pervades even a valuable service like the Department of Agriculture, even those clinical institutions, the Congested Districts Board and the Land and Estates Commissions, which were tardily set up to treat forms of social and economic disease engendered by ages of misgovernment, and which account, all told, for a million pounds in the expenditure side of the balance-sheet. Every farthing in this balance-sheet is suspect as long as Ireland herself is not responsible for the expenditure and for raising the requisite money.

That her own representatives, not only Unionist but Nationalist, have been active participants in the policy which has reduced

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her to the abject state of dependence she now occupies, reflects no discredit on them. It is only one more example of the effects of that immemorial statecraft which makes a conquered country the instrument of its own degradation. For forty years, since Isaac Butt, they have demanded the Home Rule which would have given their country free will, self-respect, and an honourable place in the Imperial partnership. The claim has been refused. They have had to work the Union for what it was worth. The condition of their people was wretched, and they snatched at any means of alleviating it. The one criticism they justly incur is that they have not unceasingly warned and instructed their people as to what was going on, and kept burning brightly before their eyes the light of ultimate self-reliance, whatever the sacrifices involved.

For Ireland and Great Britain three courses are open: (1) to maintain the Union with all its existing consequences, (2) to adopt a limited form of Home Rule which will perpetuate Ireland's dependency on Great Britain, and (3) to give Ireland full fiscal autonomy, with a minimum of strictly temporary assistance corresponding to the actually existing financial deficit; in other words, to throw on Ireland the responsibility of wiping out that deficit, balancing her revenue and expenditure, and resuming her interrupted contributions to the Empire.

Let us take the plans in turn.

THE MAINTENANCE OF THE UNION

The principal reasons given for this course are four:

(1) The opposition of North-East Ulster.

(2) British fears of a hostile and disloyal Ireland.

(3) 'Ireland does not want Home Rule.'

(4) Ireland's 'prosperity,' said to be attributable to the Union, and especially to Unionist policy.

No. (1)—the most important of all—I shall leave to the end of

this article, where it will be more appropriate.

(2) Of all emotions to which the human heart is subject the fear in a big, rich, and powerful nation of a small, poor, and helpless country, which she has bullied and beggared, is the most despicable. If it is a natural instinct to expect from a victim of tyranny an attempt at revengeful reprisals, let us at least in common decency not fear the victim. But in truth, as I said above, those fears are becoming as ludicrous as they are baseless. It is no longer a question of the 'safety' of giving Ireland Home Rule, it is rather a question of the heavy cost to England of refusing Home Rule and of the immediate sacrifice to Ireland involved in assuming the widest form of fiscal autonomy.

(3) 'Ireland place proting interior Enderion, Malcolm,

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in an article in the February number of this Review, asserts his opinion that Ireland, in spite of the verdict of eight successive general elections, does not want Home Rule. The sums subscribed to the National Fund are not large enough to satisfy him. Our first thought is that it is waste of time to argue this point with Mr. Malcolm, because whatever the height of the National Fund, he and his party would not be converted to Home Rule. How, unless by voting, is Ireland to express her want? There is no way but a renewal of the unconstitutional action forced upon her in the past. Once more she is to be taught the terrible lesson that violence is the only road to reform. The writer in the January number of the Quarterly Review actually indicates to her a new Plan of Campaign, when he prophesies, in his genial way, that after Home Rule she will repudiate the annuities on purchased land, which are now paid willingly, punctually, and honestly to the last farthing. But if the 350,000 annuitants determined to repudiate now, they could do so. If Mr. Malcolm really doubts the desire for Home Rule, why does he not stand for election in a Nationalist constituency, and use the same arguments as he gives to the readers of this Review, strangely mingling the new note of sympathetic flattery of the Irish people as a peaceful, prosperous, contented folk, sick of Home Rule, with the old conventional insinuations of intolerance, disloyalty, and dishonesty? No doubt the demand for Home Rule has not the passionate vehemence it had when hunger and misery were behind it. No doubt some of the financial boons arising from the Union act to a certain extent as narcotics. But underneath there is a deep irresistible current of pride and honourable sentiment which Mr. Malcolm would understand when his arguments drew it forth.

(4) I pass to the argument, in common use now, that Ireland ought not to be given Home Rule owing to her present and growing 'prosperity,' which is represented as being the direct result of Conservative policy. Here again it may be objected that it is idle to deal with the argument: in the first place, because it does not touch the plea for government by consent; in the second place, because to disprove it would only lead to the inference from Unionists that Home Rule was still more impossible; in the third place, because it is as old as the Repeal Debate of 1834 and has survived famines, wholesale emigration,

and every phase of social anarchy and economic misery.

Nevertheless, we are here in the presence of a contention, which at the present day wears a more plausible aspect than before, and which, in fact, apart from the Ulster difficulty, forms the whole of the reasonable case for the Union as put forward by writers like Mr. L. S. Amery for the Morning Post,

^{&#}x27; 'Justice to Ireland,' Nineteenth Century and After, February 1912.

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and the anonymous author of a recent series of articles in the *Times*; in short, by thinking men who realise that the old case against Ireland is dead, and who feel bound, not only to justify the Union, but to put forward some positive alternative policy to Home Rule.

Let us agree at once with thankfulness that Ireland is more prosperous, though the prosperity, as I shall show, is somewhat Her condition could hardly have become worse. She is advancing, though very slowly, on the up-grade. If it were not so, an indelible stain of infamy would rest upon Great Britain, which maintains responsibility for Ireland. There is little cause for self-congratulation over the 'unexampled generosity' of Great Britain, and to do the writers just mentioned full justice they do not take this extreme and Pharisaical line. But they do ascribe too high merit and too much success to distinctively Unionist policy. In point of fact, since the passing of the cardinal reforms in the matter of religion and land, neither party has any advantage over the other, though the Tories, by the rise and fall of the party balance, have had a much longer spell of office in which to carry out a policy. Their greatest work is held rightly to have been Mr. Wyndham's Land Purchase Act of 1903, and out of this truth a legend has arisen that purchase was a distinctively Conservative policy. The fact is, that it was John Bright's policy, and that purchase clauses were inserted in the three Liberal Acts of 1869, 1870, and 1881. In 1885 came the first Tory Purchase Act-Lord Ashbourne's-and in 1886, in conjunction with his first Home Rule Bill, Mr. Gladstone proposed a vast scheme for the universal transference of land from landlord to tenant at twenty years' purchase; a scheme which, whatever its minor defects-and all schemes at this period had their minor defects—would have had the great advantage not possessed by Mr. Wyndham's Act, passed seventeen years later, of a long period of cheap public The scheme was contemptuously rejected. and 1896 extensions of the Ashbourne Act were passed; but it is common knowledge that the impetus for the Wyndham Act of 1903 came from within both parties in Ireland itself, and originated in the Land Conference of Home Rulers and Unionist Landlords. Nor, it is equally well known, could it ever have been passed without the huge bonus of twelve millions, charged on the general taxpayers, to selling landlords.

But these, after all, are minor points. The dominant fact is that without the abolition of cottier tenancy and the substitution of the Ulster Custom and judicial rents by Gladstone's Land Acts of 1870 and 1881 and by subsequent amending Acts, no constructive reforms would have been possible. These Acts struck CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Handwar

at the root of the most vicious and demoralising social system which has ever disgraced a country styled 'civilised,' and laid the foundation of a new order. Mr. Wyndham would be the first to admit that his scheme would have been impossible under Indeed, he founded sales upon the basis of the old system. reductions upon second-term judicial rents. Sir Horace Plunkett would be the first to admit that his valuable non-party co-operative movement initiated in 1891, like the non-party conference of Irishmen which he organised in 1895-96 to promote the Irish Department of Agriculture, and, like many other movements for regeneration within Ireland, would have been equally impossible under the old conditions. The policy of abolishing these conditions was a Liberal policy; but the main impetus came, alas! from crime in Ireland, provoked by intolerable suffering.

It seems a pity that men like Mr. Amery, Mr. Locker-Lampson, and the writer in the Times already mentioned, who frankly admit them, do not appreciate their full significance in the struggle for Home Rule, or realise how deeply they are burned into the consciousness of Irishmen and how immovable is the belief which springs from them, and from still worse experiences in earlier history, that England is incapable of ruling Ireland well. Mr. Amery should remember that what he writes about the 'vicious agrarian tenure' and the blessings of its abolition could never have come from a Unionist pen at the period of the former Home Rule Bills, because the whole case against Home Rule was based on the supposed criminality and depravity of Ireland in fighting for the very reforms which he

admits to have been of the most elementary necessity.

The same writer and others also exaggerate the effect of Free Trade upon Ireland. Free Trade is not a serious element in the discussion of Irish prosperity. The cataclysm caused by the Great Famine, with all its appalling consequences, came at the climax of a period of high protection for agriculture. Free Trade was, in fact, hurried on by the shadow of the Three-quarters of a million souls perished because the potato crop failed. In other words, the peasants had been living on the margin of starvation from agrarian causes perfectly well known, dating direct from the confiscations and the Penal Code, operating all through the eighteenth century, even through Grattan's Parliament, and repeatedly during the nineteenth century made the subject of inquiry and hopeless efforts for Reform was not even initiated until 1870, not thoroughly undertaken until 1881, and is not nearly completed Land purchase, beneficent though it is, cannot do more than mitigate the ravages of the past. It leaves the distribu-

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tion of land untouched, and the congested districts still congested. Nor does it matter a pin to an Ireland anxious for Home Rule whether or no Free Trade ruined her. She answers that however ruin came, it came from England, and she can point to the patent fact that the uniform Free Trade tariff, if it hurt her, brought immense wealth and prosperity to England; only one further proof of the incompatibility of Ireland and Great Britain as partners in the same fiscal system.

We come back, then, to the point at which we started. country can truly be said to be prosperous which does not pay for its own government, especially when the government is conducted and paid for in the manner I have described. Seeking for the constituent elements in the more prosperous life of Ireland, we are forced to recognise that some are illusory. The known reduction of rents in the Land Courts by 2,000,000l. since 1881, and the further reductions outside the Courts and under recent Purchase Acts, represent an enormous economic relief, especially as a large part of Irish rent has been a sheer drain of the country's wealth to absentees. But this relief is not the same thing as normal productive growth, though it indirectly encourages productive growth, especially when accompanied by the moral stimulus which peasant ownership implants in the farmer. Still more illusory is the benefit conferred by the vast increase of public expenditure in Ireland. In 1881 public expenditure was, roughly, 4,000,000l., in 1891 5,000,000l., in 1901 7,000,000l., and at the end of the present year it will be 12,000,000l., a total advance of 8,000,000l. The annual revenue abstracted in the same period has risen by barely 3,000,000l. If all the expenditure were necessary or productive the case would be different, but it is not. is anti-productive, enervating. When we realise that, in addition to the relief, direct and indirect, caused by rent reduction, a net sum of 5,000,000l. more public money is spent in a year in Ireland than in 1880, we begin to understand that figures of increased trade and bank deposits are not altogether reliable indices of increased prosperity. Old-age pensions alone, accounting for 2,600,000l., tend to swell both accounts in an obviously artificial way. Meanwhile a great source of true prosperity, a sound elementary education, and many others, are neglected, and the greatest source of all, national self-reliance, is steadily weakened.

A comparison between Ireland and Great Britain gives a truer insight into the real forces at work. The economic disparity between the partners is enormous, and is still widening. Population still falls in Ireland. Her national wealth and income per capita are less than half Great Britain's. Agricultural wages are

11s. 3d., as compared with 18s. 4d. for England and 19l. 7s. for Scotland. The average gross annual receipts per mile of the principal railways are in Ireland 1550l., in England and Wales 6586l., in Scotland 3414l. In the vital matter of land, between a third and a half of the 650,000 Irish agricultural holdings are so small as to be classed officially as 'uneconomic.' The habits and tastes of the peoples are still different, their standard of living different, just as the very laws under which they live vary widely. Finally, the most approved and reliable tests of relative taxable capacity, as adopted by the Royal Commission in 1894-95, when remedial policy was well under way and rents had fallen 20 per cent., were net assessment to income-tax and net assessment to death duties. By these tests, applied and corrected in precisely the same way, Ireland's taxable capacity, expressed as a fraction of Great Britain's, has sunk from the one twentieth at which they fixed it to about one twenty-seventh.

With all the exaggerated estimates of prosperity in Ireland, only one serious attempt has been made, I believe, to contest the fact that the economic disparity between Ireland and Great Britain is steadily widening. The exception is Mr. Edgar Crammond, who, in articles in this Review for October 1911 and March 1912, unfolds the startling theory that Ireland is growing in prosperity at a far greater rate than England and Scotland. He appears to be positively panic-stricken by this discovery, and vehemently urges the immediate necessity of amending the Act of Union, not for purposes of Home Rule, but for reducing the Irish representation in the House of Commons from 103 to 46, with a view to damming the tide of 'unparalleled generosity' which the exorbitant Irish representation elicits, or extorts. One would have thought, in view of Ireland's 'marvellous' progress and the inherent difficulties of violating, without annulling, the contract made in the Act of Union, that Home Rule would be the better plan; but to Mr. Crammond Home Rule is as unthinkable as the existing method of administering the Union. He sees Ireland in two lights at the same moment, as advancing economically by giant strides and as irrevocably and eternally a pauper bankrupt.

Mr. Crammond writes both as an expert statistician and as a political thinker. It is hard to decide which are the most extraordinary, his statistics, as they relate to Ireland, or his estimate of the moral forces behind and against Home Rule. He is unable to conceive of the idea that a self-respecting nation may prefer self-reliance to the receipt of alms, and he is equally unconscious, not merely of the tactical difficulties, but of the meanness—to use no other term—of using the depletion in Irish population—a depletion actually caused by the economic abuses which the Union

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countenanced—as a reason for strengthening the grip of Great Britain over Ireland by reducing her representation. He sees nothing wrong in the under-representation of Ireland from the Union to 1870, when the cardinal Irish abuses were left unredressed; but he regards her over-representation now as a scandal and peril of Imperial importance.

As for Mr. Crammond's Anglo-Irish statistics, it is to be hoped that some one with space at his command will deal with them in detail. I can only give two glaring instances of error in the shape of the two reasons he adduces for regarding Ireland's growth of prosperity as far more rapid in recent years than that of Great Britain.

(1) Mr. Crammond quotes from the Report (1910-11) of the Inland Revenue Commissioners to the effect that the increase in the gross assessments to income-tax under Schedule D during the decade 1901-10 was 30.4 per cent. in the case of Ireland (3,845,021l.), and only 20.2 per cent. and 13.9 per cent. in the case of England and Scotland respectively. 'These figures,' comments Mr. Crammond, 'show pretty clearly that during the period named Ireland has progressed at a far more rapid rate than either of her partners' 2—a statement which was quoted with approval by the *Times* in a leading article a few days later.

Turning to the Report itself, we find immediately beneath the table referred to a paragraph in large type, which Mr. Crammond overlooks, saying that the Irish increase is illusory as regards the total assessment to income-tax. It includes annuities (in lieu of rent) on purchased land, transferred in the accounts of the Commissioners since 1906-07 to Schedule D from Schedule A. A corresponding amount has been written off from Schedule A.

(2) 'The Irish Trade Returns,' says Mr. Crammond, 'also establish the fact that the external trade of Ireland has, in recent years at least, increased twice as rapidly as that of the United Kingdom.' 3 How he makes good this proposition it is impossible to comprehend, but the facts are as follows: There are no returns of Irish external trade from 1826 to 1904, so for comparison we have to take the years 1904-10, which show a total increase in the external trade of the United Kingdom of 30 per (922,000,000l. to 1,212,000,000l.), and of Ireland, not of 60 per cent., as Mr. Crammond suggests, but of 26 per cent. (104,000,000l. to 131,000,000l.). For the rest, it ought to be needless to point out the danger and difficulty of these comparisons of 'external Irish trade' (88 per cent. of which is cross-Channel trade with Great Britain, and only 12 per cent. direct foreign trade) with the total statistics of the genuinely foreign trade of the United Kingdom or Great Britain, whose domestic or internal

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trade is unknown. Mr. Crammond falls into the strangest errors in doing so. It should also be needless to point out the worthlessness of the figures of external trade per head of the population as a statistical test of relative wealth and taxable capacity; purposes to which Mr. Crammond puts them. According to this standard, Ireland is not only richer than Great Britain, but one of the richest countries in the world.

His statistical blunders apart, Mr. Crammond's view of future policy toward Ireland finds no echo in responsible Unionist quarters. So far from regarding that country as a formidable though an over-pampered competitor with Great Britain, the policy appears to be to lavish additional expenditure on her; expenditure on drainage schemes, Atlantic services, Channel ferries, huge inducements to landlords to sell their land, and on benefits to be bestowed by mysterious manipulations of a Protectionist tariff. Every concrete Unionist scheme hitherto published has this feature of additional sops and doles. Something vague is said about a 'profitable investment' of British money. We cannot take such pretexts seriously. The real significance of these schemes is that Ireland, on a more dazzling scale than ever, is to be bribed to abandon Home Rule and sell the last chance of saving her independence of character. What the subsidy to Ireland will amount to when these schemes are under way defies imagination-four, five, six, seven millions are quite reasonable figures.

Is it worth while to go on piling up these obstacles to a measure which some day or other is inevitable? Great Britain will throw up the task of pauperisation with weariness and disgust. Ireland will not abandon Home Rule. It is with her a primitive, inextinguishable instinct and a right and healthy instinct. As long as it is suppressed, we shall have the same old miserable friction and dislocation, as disastrous to the Conservative party as it is to Great Britain and Ireland, quenching wholesome political development in that unhappy country, fomenting dissension, choking regenerative movements from within, delaying reform in a score of important directions—education, poor-law, the conduct of the congested districts, temperance, land, labour —which now are wholly neglected.

LIMITED HOME RULE

The economic divergences between the two islands, together with the stringent necessity on all grounds of co-ordinating revenue and expenditure in Ireland, seem to be fatal to any scheme which does not give Ireland control of her Customs and Excise, which together account for 70 per cent. of her tax revenue. Indeed their retention in Imperial hands would logically lead to the retention of all Imperial taxation and the abandonment of the last hope of restoring a financial equilibrium in Ireland. Such an equilibrium Lord MacDonnell's scheme, for example, does not pretend to contemplate. Like the Unionists, he contemplates not only a large permanent subsidy, but large additional expenditure on Ireland without reference to her revenue; and on tactical grounds only it is this close approximation to Unionist policy which makes his scheme so little likely to command general acceptation. It seems necessarily to involve the denial of Irish control over important departments such as the police, old-age pensions, and Land Commission, and whittles away to very small dimensions what we know as 'responsible government.'

As for the 'Federal' proposals made by some Liberals, the designation is misleading if not meaningless. Even if the constitutional conditions of federalism existed, and they do not, no insolvent country has ever been admitted to a federation, while federal finance would inevitably stereotype Ireland's insolvency. A period of fiscal autonomy is surely an essential condition precedent to Ireland's introduction on the ordinary terms to a Federation of the British Isles. The delay need not check or hinder in any way a British Federation of Scotland, England, and Wales if such an ideal be desired. It is simply a precaution founded on business principles and common sense.

IRISH FISCAL AUTONOMY

A scheme which throws on Ireland complete responsibility for all her own expenditure and taxation is the only one which genuinely fulfils all the required conditions. On her part this is not a greedy or aggressive claim. It is a business necessity, involving initial hardship, for an end of transcendent importance. Even so the initial deficit must be filled. Let there be an initial subsidy, diminishing, and terminable within a stated period. There can be no objection to such a course, the express object of which is to save Great Britain money and give Ireland self-respect.

Finally, fiscal autonomy solves in the natural way the thorny and otherwise insoluble question of representation at Westminster; for no representation is needed or desirable, unless—for such a compromise is quite feasible—it is purely symbolic and numerically trivial. I myself venture to think that Conference on Imperial matters, as with the Colonies, would be better than any representation, and is surely not 'separation,' for it is daily drawing closer together the Colonies and the Home Country.

Whether or no we call the scheme 'colonial' Home Rule, does not matter. It is not colonial in the sense of giving Ireland any CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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independent control over armaments, which she does not need, does not want, and could never afford. It is colonial in giving her what has proved the salvation of the self-governing Colonies. Her proximity and identity of commercial interest are the crowning reasons for confidence that her new rights will draw her closer to Great Britain, just as countries even in the Antipodes are being drawn closer.

ULSTER

When Ulster Unionists have uttered the last word of angry and passionate repudiation of Home Rule, it is pertinent to ask them what is their sober view of the future? Nobody doubts their intense sincerity; but have they thought out this matter? Ireland is now governed as a dependent Crown Colony. themselves constantly style themselves a 'garrison,' and so tacitly accept the status usually only claimed by a privileged white minority in a coloured dependency of the Crown. Very well. But where is this view leading them? Crown Colonies are at least solvent fiscal entities. The Union has reduced Ireland to pauperism, and Ulstermen cannot escape the responsibility. High and low, they share in the questionable profits derived from the Union, and stand to gain from the golden promises of the future. At this moment their English friends destroying the case for the exceptional prosperity of Ulster, and the arguments hanging upon it, by proclaiming the 'bounding' prosperity of the rest of Ireland. Whatever the truth of that view, how do Ulstermen regard the counterproposals of English Unionists for the benefit of Ireland under the Union? Are they content to see Ireland plunged deeper and deeper into insolvency, costing more and more to maintain, receding further and further from the point at which she still contributed something to the Army and Navy? They are bound to consider-I say it in no spirit of sarcasm, but in sober appealwhat their loyalty to the Union is costing Great Britain in hard cash, and is going in the future to cost. What is the moral cost to their own country-Ireland? They are Irishmen first, and Unionists next: every Ulsterman admits that. They have honestly believed that the Union is best for Ireland as a whole. Is it too much to ask them to sound the foundations of that belief in the light of the modern finance and the revelations it suggests? I believe that if they did, a revulsion of feeling would ensue, and the conviction would gain ground that after all it was worth while to trust their Catholic fellow-countrymen to work with their Protestant brethren for the common good of Ireland.

What is the fundamental intention and significance of the Union? This, that Great Britain governs Ireland through the

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dissensions of Irishmen. That is what her Government meant, avowedly, in the eighteenth century, and Ulstermen knew it well, and to their cost. That is what it means still. It is a shameful thing for Ireland. Ulster may seem to be dragging English Unionism behind her now. It is not so. If English statesmen could be induced to abandon the secular craving for undue domination. Irishmen would unite, like Englishmen and Frenchmen in Canada, and Englishmen and Dutchmen in South Africa, to make their countries prosperous, progressive, and loyal. Why should not Ulstermen anticipate the complete conversion of Great Britain. which is bound to come if the present system continues? Why should they not anticipate what is equally certain to come, if a Protectionist Government attains power in Great Britain, a general revolt in Ireland against a uniform tariff designed for British conditions, and therefore, like all uniform tariffs in the past, certain to hurt Ireland?

Ulster Unionists have never done justice to their fellow-countrymen. They know that their own linen industry was the solitary privileged exception to the destruction of Irish industries. They know that for more than a century they possessed a privileged racial ascendency based on religion, and they know, too, that even so their own ancestors had to wage the same demoralising social war of crime and secret conspiracy to obtain the Ulster Custom of land tenure, which placed them outside the agonies endured by their Catholic compatriots during the nineteenth century. They joined in at the last to reap the culminating benefits of the land reforms won by others. They should not join in the cheap and heartless hue and cry against the majority of Irishmen for the violence used in obtaining those reforms, and in the tradi-

tional defamation which survives from it.

What, in explicit terms, do they really fear? Not a Catholic tyranny corresponding to the extinct Protestant tyranny. How could it be enforced? What sensible layman would ever dream of inflicting it? Not an economic tyranny: the thing would be literally impossible and inherently senseless. What do they fear? Let them give precision to their doubts and then set them squarely and fairly against the consequences of the Union, and make a manly choice worthy of their character as loyal citizens of Ireland, Great Britain, and the Empire.

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AN APPROACH BETWEEN MOSLEMS AND BUDDHISTS

Persia, Tripoli, Morocco!—three points from which simultaneously attacks are made upon Islam! So hard the West has never yet pressed the confessors of Mohammed's doctrine, and never before has the war of the Cross against the Crescent flamed up so dangerously as has lately been the case. What may be the cause of this strange phenomenon? Is it mere accident, or must we look upon it as the outcome of long-premeditated political The answer is clear enough when we remember that this war has in reality been going on for centuries between the two culturally opposed worlds; and that the issues of it, dependent as they have been all along upon the political conditions of interested neighbouring States, and upon the enthusiasm displayed by the contending parties, have now, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, decidedly turned in favour of the The more pronounced was the cultural and material progress of the modern world, the deeper sank the courage of the antagonistic Islam community. Although fully convinced of the necessity of reform, and knowing that ultimately the same means by which western lands accomplished their success would have to be adopted, Islam has thus far not been able to effect the mental metamorphosis and rouse itself so as to face its opponents on a footing of equality. Bashfully and reluctantly the Moslem world has sat upon the school-bench of western education. There has been no lack of zeal nor of capability, but, just as the individual has to pass through gradual stages of learning to obtain his object in view, so it is with a nation; only the process is slower still, and especially when, as is the case with the community here in question, it has not only to fit itself into a new world of ideas, but also has to unlearn and forget many things born and bred in the flesh. In this difficult task the Moslem world has now been engaged for more than a century. nations of the West act the part of impartial spectators, but their Governments show a lively interest in the cultural movements and evolutions of their Asiatic neighbours, and in measure as these latter rise, or would rise, out of the slough of antiquated

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notions, in that same measure the aggressive politics of the former increase. The fear of losing the booty, or of seeing it snatched away by another, is at the root of all the diplomatic scheming of our several Cabinets. The ostensible purpose to be the standard-bearers of western culture, the propagators of modern civilisation and humanisation, is either an empty shibboleth or else a matter of quite secondary importance. The chief object is, and remains: the acquisition of colonies, the extension of territory, the founding of new markets for home industries and commerce, and, by the subjugation of foreign nations, to exalt and to increase the power and importance of the mother country.

Under these circumstances it is easy to see why those of our Governments who have not yet acquired colonies, as well as those who would increase their colonial possessions, are always on the look-out for opportunities which may lead to the acquisition of territory, without considering whether the steps they are taking are strictly just, or whether these actually meet the object they have in view. Hitherto it has been the commendable custom of most of the assailants of the Moslem world to put forward at least some plausible pretext in justification of their aggression and ultimate occupation, the favourite excuse being the barbaric conditions, the absolute absence of order, security, and law in most of the Islamic lands, or else the obstruction and danger caused to international intercourse.

We do not, of course, deny that there is much truth in these statements. We have but to look at Morocco and note with sorrow how this pre-eminently rich piece of earth lies neglected, waste, desolate, although it could easily support six times its present population. Morocco possesses every kind of mineral, and a vegetation which is unparalleled. It has beautiful pasture-land, forests of oaks, cedars, and cypresses, many streams which irrigate the plains, so that, without manuring and with very little labour, crops of barley, rye, oats, and wheat could easily be grown. What French dominion has done and still can do for this country is evident enough, and the question now is whether it would have been better to let matters remain as they were or whether we must welcome the civilising interference of a foreign Power.

The recent Italian invasion in Tripoli, where the conditions are not much better than in Morocco, has been universally condemned as a violation of the law and as downright robbery. We grant the possibility that in course of time through the steadily improving organisation of constitutional Turkey the affairs of Tripoli would be ameliorated; but still the question remains whether the old-established sovereignty of Italy will not CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Handwar

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introduce the blessings of modern culture quicker, and more effectually, and carry out the reforms with more ability than could be expected of the Turkish Government, which is not thoroughly settled itself yet. Let us bear in mind what was the condition of North Africa in the days of Rome, as regards its economic, commercial, and political standing, and what it is to-day! Where once flourishing cities arose, keeping up a brisk intercourse with distant portions of the East, we now walk among ruins. Desolation stares us in the face wherever we go, and we are justified in asking if it would not be better to cut short as quickly as possible the wild fanaticism and horrible barbarism of the Arabs.

And what of Persia? In that unhappy land—the early cultural monuments of which arouse our admiration—anarchy and lawlessness have now been rampant for centuries, and the native Government, if it deserves that name, has done all it could to corrupt and desolate the country, and to bring the inhabitants, the most gifted of all Moslems, to poverty and misery. Everywhere the eye meets the heaped-up ruins of former cities, caravanseries, bazaars, palaces, high roads, bridges, hospitals, and houses of refuge, while the subterranean canals which should bring moisture to the thirsting land have long since collapsed and fallen into decay. Villages and settlements are hidden away in hollows far from the beaten track, so as not to be seen, and pillaged by the passing agents of the Government; for all officials, the high as well as the low, are in this land looked upon as the instruments of divine wrath, plundering, robbing, murdering, but never rendering help.

This terrible picture of his native land, given by Ibraham Bey, is, as a matter of fact, mildly drawn as compared with the staggering reality of Iranian conditions, now and in the recent past. I still shudder to think of some of the scenes I witnessed on my travels, and of the pictures given by Melkom Khan, formerly Persian Ambassador in London and Paris, in his paper Kanun (Law).

In the face of these, and many similar revelations, one cannot but justify the aggressive politics of Europe in these lands, for emissaries from the West, even if in the accourrements of war, always herald improvement. The appearance of western power in these lands signifies the introduction of order and law; it means that downtrodden humanity can breathe freely again, that it can rise and begin to look forward to a happier future. All the obstructions of deep-rooted fanaticism and prejudice being cleared away, nothing will hinder the process of transformation,

¹ German by Walter Schutz, Leipzig, 1903.

for then all existing evils will disappear under the energetic and persevering influence of European rule.

Acting upon this principle, our rulers have for more than a century been forcing their way into Islam, gradually depriving the followers of the Prophet of their political independence. At the present time not one Mohammedan State is entirely independent, for even the Ottoman Empire has to submit to the irksome bonds incumbent on capitulations, and its precarious existence is only made bearable by the punctilious observance of diplomatic formalities. As regards the Afghan vassal of the British Crown, Emir Habib ul Ullah fully realises that the title of "Majesty," lately bestowed upon him, is merely a complimentary distinction without any real meaning. With it he may deceive his surroundings, but he cannot deceive himself.

It is not surprising that the argument propounded above is not in the least convincing to the Mohammedans themselves, and that they show themselves in no wise eager to accept the recipe for the preparation of the elixir of European culture, offered to them at the point of the bayonet; that they will, in fact, have none of the new order of things as long as it savours of foreign rule. The terrors of the despotic government of Abdul Hamid have, in this respect, created no change in the minds of the Young Turks, and even the most enraged democrats among them have declared that they would rather suffer under the oppression of home tyranny than live happily under the liberal

régime of foreign rulers.

This view is intelligible enough when we consider that this society has grown up under the influence of a 'religio militans,' which for centuries has reigned over many heterogeneous subjects, and is not likely to give up its commanding position without an effort. One may construe the Gaza precept (religious war) as one likes, and allow that some of the decrees of the Koran have been made to fit in with the requirements of the times; but it is impossible to accuse the Mohammedans of voluntarily forsaking and renouncing the principles which in past ages secured for them so prominent a place in the history of the world, and enabled them to exercise so great an influence over the fate of humanity. No, such a thing is not conceivable, and, looked at in this light, can we wonder that the growing hold of Christianity upon the lands of Islam is creating a very marked unrest among the followers of Mohammed? Is it strange that their proverbial apathy and indifference is giving way to nervous irritability, and that, in their feverish search for a means of escape, they cast their eyes in a direction which not one of them ever thought of before, and which, in their innermost soul, they have always detested. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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Looking without prejudice at the relations of Asia as they now present themselves, one cannot fail to be struck by the startling fact that Mohammedans and Buddhists no longer regard one another with that furious hatred and ill-will which formerly marked the intercourse between these two large bodies of the ancient world. This remarkable phenomenon is particularly noticeable among the Moslems, who divide humanity into two great sections, mere idol-worshippers (Medjusi) and These latter are subdivided Book-possessors (Ehli Kitab). into people who do not acknowledge the Arab Prophet, and hence are Kafir—unbelieving, and those who, because they possess one of the four books (Tora, Bible, Psalms, and Koran) can be tolerated, and are not reckoned as savage and irreclaimable. While the Ehli Kitab, after the enforcement of the Djizie, i.e. personal taxation, had to be tolerated, and even protected, the Medjusi had no claim even to humane treatment; their life and their goods were forfeited, and only in cases where the Medjusi were superior in numbers to the Moslem population has the Sheriat (religious law) seen fit to shut its eyes, as was the case in India in the days of the Mogul rule, when the sultans distinguished themselves by their vast tolerance. In other places, as, for instance, in what was called Central Asia, the Multani (Indian money-brokers) were subject to the grossest insults and

Through this fanatical interpretation of the Koran laws, Persia has lost an industrious and gifted portion of its population—namely, the Parsi, who, being persecuted by their Moslem countrymen, found a home in India, and have there become useful subjects of the British Crown. In a word, the Medjusi was an object of abhorrence to the faithful Mohammedan, much more so, indeed, than the inveterate Ghiaur, who, as the prototype of all that is unclean, was universally avoided and spurned. In all my long and varied intercourse with the people of Moslem Asia, I have never come across anyone who did not entertain this un-

ill-treatment, and it was only by much and constant bribery that

reasonable hatred against the Medjusi.

Imagine, then, my surprise and amazement when recently, i.e. after the victory of the Japanese over the Russians, I noted the joyful excitement which prevailed throughout the length and breadth of the Islamic world at the military success of the formerly detested Medjusi. The Latin proverb—'Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos'—could not apply here, for the victory of Japan over China called forth no such response in Islam, was, in fact, not taken any notice of. But what strikes one most is the continuous and ever-growing friendliness between these two Asiatic nations, or rather, between these two religions, which

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ans of f them l, they used to be so hostile to one another. In spite of the great geographical distance between them, they seek to come into touch with one another, and have, as a matter of fact, already found a means to make their intellectual intercourse easier. enough, the Mohammedans made the first move. At the time of the Russo-Japanese war, when as yet there could be no question of a decisive victory, the columns of the Turkish, Persian. Arab, and Tartar newspapers were full of expressions of sym. pathy for the cause of the Japanese Medjusi. Their bravery was described in glowing terms, and in the days following the decisive battles of Mukden and Tsu-Shima the names of the Generals Oyama, Nogi, Kuroki, and of Admiral Togo were in everybody's mouth. Then suddenly the news spread that Japan had surrendered to the charms of Islam and that many Japanese had already embraced the faith.

Of course, this was nonsense, a mere fabrication; but it is true that the Japanese made attempts both officially and secretly to approach the Porte, with a view to making common cause against their joint enemy, Russia. Sultan Abdul Hamid, however, was differently minded, and did not fall into the trap of the cunning Japanese. The first attempt at an approach, i.e. a beginning of diplomatic relations between Stamboul and Tokio, came to a sad end when the Turkish corvette Ertogrul was wrecked off the Japanese coast and all on board perished. The second attempt was not much more successful, because the Porte refused to grant the Japanese certain concessions, when Japan demanded to be placed on an equality with the European Powers.

Officially, therefore, not much advance has been made, but inofficially and in secret a good deal of intercourse between the two great Asiatic religions has been carried on through private individuals, for the greater part adventurously disposed mollas, who, being sent out from Yildiz with a liberal supply of money, visited the Mohammedans in the Far East. To these they told marvellous stories about the power, the wealth, and the greatness of the Caliph, and tried to induce the native Mohammedans to use their influence with their Buddhist compatriots.

One such envoy was Molla Suleiman Shukri Effendi, a native of Anatolia, who in 1907 concluded his great Asiatic journey through the various countries of the Old World which were inhabited by Mohammedans. He gave his experiences in a book published in St. Petersburg, and entitled Siahati Kubra—i.e. Great Journey. Suleiman Shukri is an extreme fanatic who scorns everything European and represents particularly the English as the most dangerous enemies of Islam. He expresses great admiration for the heathen Chinese, and praises their tolerant government against the canadomiratewance (?) of the

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English. Of course, he is also of opinion that Chinese and Mohammedans should join forces to break the power of the overbearing, haughty Europeans.

The relations between China and Islam are certainly of a peculiar nature. The ancient fame of the Celestial Flowery Land of the Middle caused the people of Western and Central Asia from time immemorial to look upon this empire as the ne plus ultra of political and artistic power and greatness. Chini (Chinese) is an epithet for artistic and beautiful things, especially in painting and colouring, and Fagfur, the title of the Chinese Emperor, is an emblem of highest dignity. It is therefore no wonder that the Moslem missionaries and Arab traders at a very early date began to visit China, and spread its good report in spite of its heathen character.

In proportion as European supremacy made itself felt in the Far East, in that same proportion the sympathy between Moslems and Chinese grew stronger, for they were both in the same trying position, and stood powerless against the aggressive interference After the victory of the Japanese over Russia, this of Europe. relationship, previously always somewhat timidly kept in the background, has been freely and frankly declared, though Islam in its religious zeal has found it expedient to shut its eyes to this coquetry, and China also let it pass. Since the insurrections in Yunnan and East Turkestan the Chinese have treated the Moslem population quite differently from what they used to do, and their patriotism and military prowess has since been duly appreciated. In the Boxer insurrection Chinese Mohammedans played a conspicuous part; they have clearly shown that Moslems and Buddhists recognise a common foe in the person of the European, and are prepared, if need be, to take the field together against him.

The Chinese Government has not been able to remain quite indifferent to this entente, and it would even seem that the authorities, so far from opposing it, are rather inclined to support it. On the strength of this a Turkish newspaper, published at Ili and subsidised by the Government, invites the Mohammedans to make common cause with the Chinese, so that, united, they may break the power of Europe, the usurper. 'Europe,' it says in one of its leading articles, 'has grown too presumptuous. It will deprive us of our liberty; it will destroy us altogether if we do not bestir ourselves promptly and prepare for a powerful resistance. We must make ourselves familiar with the latest discoveries in the useful arts and in agriculture, so that we be not reduced to poverty by the importation of foreign industries,' and so on. But even without this encouragement, Islam in China places itself more and more at the service of Chinese national liberal politics. No wonder, then,

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that in the present revolution the Mohammedans have taken a prominent part in the overthrow of the retrograde Manchus. In acknowledgment of their support, Sun-Yat-Sen, the leader of the revolutionary movement, said lately, in an interview at Marseilles, where he took ship on his homeward journey: 'The Chinese will never forget the assistance which their Moslem compatriots have rendered them, in the interest of order and liberty.' Islam, he said, has many advantages, and it is a pity that it should be so misjudged in Europe, where, besides the spectre of the 'Yellow Peril,' the spectre of Pan-Islamism is now feared.

How far all this intriguing is a matter for serious alarm we need not here inquire. Of interest to us is the fact that even in the Buddhist world they try to frighten us with the Wau-wau of Pan-Islamism, without themselves being properly acquainted with the real character of this boasted danger. I have studied Pan-Islamism for years on the spot, and, in consequence of my long intercourse with Yildiz, I have become familiar with the motives and expectations of this party; but to my mind the movement is, for the present at any rate, merely platonic, and the possibility of it becoming dangerous impresses me very little. The shibboleths of Panisms only have meaning where the component parts of the united elements are so closely knitted together that they cannot be broken into or cut asunder by any foreign An alliance as in the case of Germans and national bodies. Italians one can easily realise, nor is the federation of the Slavs under the auspices of Russia an idle fancy; but in Islam, divided and interefered with by foreign national and religious elements, a crystallisation is simply impossible.

The Mohammedan Indians, seventy millions strong, might put some weight in the scales, if it were not for the overpowering counterweight of 200 million Hindus, and if the historical glamour of the Mogul rule could be easily forgotten. Moreover, the just and wise and humane politics of the English in India have so completely satisfied the followers of the Arab Prophet in those parts, that they look upon the Pax Britannica as a divine blessing, and will readily make the greatest sacrifices in order to keep this great gift. As regards the other Moslems living under Christian supremacy, they can, naturally enough, never become dangerous, with the exception perhaps of the ten million Egyptians, who, in the distant future, and federated with the ever-increasing number of African Mohammedans, might become a force not to be despised. Islam in Africa presents in general problems of incal-

culable magnitude.

As the relations stand now, Pan-Islamism is not a dangerous foe, because the still politically relative and anti-

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religious community, for fear of rousing suspicion among western Powers, will have nothing to do with it, and, indeed, anxiously avoid any allusion to such a fraternisation.

When, a few years ago, the highly accomplished Ismael Gasprinski, editor of the paper Terdjhuman, published in Bagchhe-Sarai, proposed the idea of holding a Moslem religious congress, Cairo, which stands under the liberal régime of England, was the only place which offered a hospitable reception to the conference. In Constantinople they would have nothing to do with it, although it was explicitly stated that politics should be rigidly excluded, and only purely religious and cultural matters This precautionary measure, however, was quite un-Western nations are far too conscious of their material superiority to be frightened by any vague possibility of danger. If the prescribed pilgrimage to the grave of the Prophet has hitherto not been able to give more stable character to the bond of fraternity which unites the Moslems, and has failed to bring their common interests more into prominence-notwithstanding that many thousands of true believers of all colours and nationalities meet year after year in Mecca—it is fairly certain that political efforts will not accomplish it. 'Kulli muminin ihwa' (All true believers are brothers), the Prophet has said, but this brotherhood applies primarily to the province of religion. In temporal affairs the maxim is 'Tacet eeclesia,' as is the case in other religious bodies.

The followers of Mohammed have now to face the great problem how to reach that cultural and political-economic level which will secure their political future and safeguard them against further attacks. Without this all Pan-Islamic schemes are useless; they will have as little effect as the short-lived energy of Sultan Abdul Hamid, whose messengers went through all the Islamic world and brought extensive reports, which were, after all, of very little real help to the politics of the Sublime Porte. But from a moral point of view the common interests of the Islamic world can show a certain degree of progress, which is to be attributed not in the first place to the clergy, nor to the Caliph, but to the untiring zeal of the Press, newly awakened all along the line.

I believe I am not exaggerating when I say that the sudden energy of the Moslem Press is quite unequalled, and the more to be admired as the Molla-world had taken up a very decided attitude against secular literature and accused every newspaper-reader of apostasy. In Bokhara this is still the case, although the young Emir, Mir Alim, who was brought up in the Page Corps at St. Petersburg, is a zealous advocate of reforms and modern civilisation. It is therefore only the Moslem Press, more particularly

the Turkish and Persian, which binds together the most distant parts of the Moslem-Asiatic world, and does it so effectively that, for instance, the starving Tartar population of Omsk and Tobolsk receive monetary support from Cairo, Stamboul, Kazan,

and Bombay!

When the Turco-Italian war broke out, not only the Ottoman. but also the Tartar, Kirghiz, Caucasian, Indian, and Arab newspapers had long columns of war intelligence, and voluntary subscriptions flowed in much more abundantly than at the time of the last Turco-Russian war, in 1877. I have compared the stated amounts collected then with those now received, and I cannot help seeing in this improvement a sign, which should not be disregarded, of the decided growth of mutual interest between the various Moslem nations. And if now in the present stage of the Pan-Islamic movement we can see no danger for the interests of western influence in Asia, we should, on the other hand, not underestimate the growing symptoms of approach between Moslems and Buddhists and between other mutually hostile elements, such as Moslems and Brahmins. The more the power and authority of the West gains ground in the Old World, the stronger becomes the bond of unity and mutual interest between the separate factions of Asiatics, and the deeper burns the fanatical hatred against Europe.

Half a century ago China, for instance, was waging war against the Mohammedans of Yunnan and East Turkestan; now China does not disdain, as already mentioned, to publish, at the expense of the State, a Turkish newspaper. The Chinese authorities repair and rebuild mosques at State cost, and the Chinese Mohammedans show their appreciation by expressions of patriotism and by making no secret of their hatred of the Christian world. approach between the followers of different Oriental religions has become so much more pronounced of late years that already the various nationalities are known by the collective name of Asia as against Europe; and these two names will be the watchwords in the coming struggle between East and West. It may be that individual Asiatic nations do not sufficiently realise what this movement of fraternisation implies, but the eye of the unprejudiced spectator cannot fail to detect the categorical symptoms of an everripening bond of unity, and in the face of this we ask, Is it wise and expedient by useless provocation and unnecessary attacks to increase the feeling of animosity, to hurry on the struggle between the two worlds, and to nip in the bud the work of modern culture which is now going on in Asia?

Surely it is too risky a step to take and too high a price to pay

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TRIAD SOCIETY AND THE RESTORATION OF THE MING DYNASTY

THE recent announcement in the English papers that an aspirant has arisen to the throne of China in the person of the Marquis Chu-Cheng-Yu, who claims to be a descendant of the Ming Emperors, makes one remember the long struggle maintained in the Middle Kingdom by the well-known Triad Society, with the avowed object of restoring the native Chinese dynasty to the ancestral throne. The Triad Society, though often alluded to, is but little understood; it has played a part in most of the revolts in China in comparatively modern times, and now that one portion of the avowed object of the league has been accomplished -namely, the fall of the Tsings or Manchus, it may be of some 'interest to glance at the organisation, statutes and rituals carefully arranged in order to keep alive in the popular mind, not only the expulsion of the Manchus, but the restoration of an ancient dynasty.

Secret societies, generally more or less political in their aims, but, like religious sects, differing in their tenets and objects of worship, have long been rife in China. Some of these societies are merely friendly associations, assisting their members when in sickness or distress, seeing, when necessary, to the proper disposal of the bodies of those who have died away from home, or in circumstances debarring the departed from-to the Chinese that all-important matter-burial in their native land. The Chinese hold that each individual soul is of a Trinitarian nature; after death one division or person of the soul hovering in or around the place where the body lies; a second entering the consecrated tablet placed in the ancestral hall; and the third person of the soul ascending to the region of spirits, where it is punished or rewarded according as the acts done when in the body have been bad or good. Each family of any standing has its ancestral hall, usually attached to the family dwelling-house; while the humbler classes have an ancestral hall in common for each village. It is believed that the spirits of the departed exercise influence over the fortunes of their descendants, an influence benign or the reverse, according as their relations still in the flesh pay due respect and

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reverence at the tombs of their ancestors, whose well-being in the land of shades is likewise to some extent ensured by the offerings and worship paid at their graves. It is a touching sight at the great 'grave-sweeping' festival—as it may be liter. ally rendered—to see the crowds resorting to the cemeteries and tombs where lie the parents and forefathers of each family or individual. Bent and frail old men, dainty ladies, whose feet, not more than two inches long, render the support of a waiting woman on either side not altogether a mark of useless dignity; sleek and opulent merchants, hard-working coolie women and toddling infants, plodding farmers, learned literati, all resort at this festival to the family tombs to do reverence and make offerings to the ancestral shades. When a man or woman leaves no descendant to perform this duty, and there is no benevolent person to undertake it, the soul of the departed is a beggar ghost hovering neglected and uncared for in the spirit land. Hence the intense anxiety of the Chinaman that his body may be laid in the family burial-place, and hence the importance that friends or relations should see that the desire is carried out.

The whole trend of feeling and usage in China fosters the tendency towards forming societies and associations. prevail all over the Empire in almost every large city; even the beggars form a guild, which has its president and its own regulations and ordinances. The clan system exists throughout the Empire, and in itself gives the people the habit and spirit of association, so that leagues and clubs spring naturally into existence, and the individual, little regarded as a unit, as is ever the case in a great democracy such as China, seeks redress for grievances and local oppression by means of the guild or league to which he belongs, which also extends him assistance in illness or distress. Societies, more or less secret, appear to have existed in China at least for the last couple of thousand years, and probably have been known there as long as the Empire has itself existed. Chinese history alludes to many such societies, known by different names. There were the Copper Horses, the Carnation Eyebrows (who, in order to render their appearance terrible in battle, coloured their eyebrows with vermilion), the Iron Shoes, and so on. The women also had societies exclusively to themselves; some of these were more or less secret associations, many were loan societies, from which the members could obtain advances when required.

An association called the White Lotus Society was first heard of about the middle of the thirteenth century, and was animated by a wave of Buddhist enthusiasm. Kublai Khan had conquered and destroyed the Chinese armies; the boy-emperor, last of the Sung dynasty, had drowned himself at the entrance CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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to the Canton river, and as time went on feeble rulers succeeded to the throne of the Great Kublai. The government of foolish and feeble rulers is usually the worst and most intolerable of tyrannies, and the people groaned under the rule of the degenerate Mongols, and murmured against submitting to the barbarians whom they not only feared but despised. The children in the Provinces of Hupeh and Hunan sang in high falsetto tones:

When stirs the one-eyed man of stone, This dynasty will be o'erthrown.

Men and women heard the song of the children, and wondered and whispered. It was felt that something unusual was about to take place, and suspense and anxiety reigned in the Just then, in 1344, the banks of 'China's Sorrow,' the Yellow River, were undergoing repairs, and lo! the rumour came that at a place called Huang ling Kang, hard by the river, there had been found the stone image of a man with one eye. Immense was the excitement that spread far and wide. The sacred character attaching to the Yellow River-believed to owe its origin to the regions of spirits and genii, and whose usually turbid waters when flowing clear and bright are held to predict the approaching advent of a Sage-no doubt contributed to the enthusiasm caused by the discovery of the image, and soon the movement assumed a religious character, when the chief of the White Lotus Society burnt incense before the figure, and proclaimed the near coming of another Buddha. Multitudes flocked to the standard then raised in rebellion against the rule of the foreign dynasty; the revolt spread rapidly, and before long found a leader endowed with a genius for warfare, in the person of a young Buddhist monk, who finally defeated the ruling powers, and was raised to the imperial throne under the name of Hung Wu, and so became the founder of the Ming Dynasty. Hung Wu proved himself not only a consummate general but a wise and beneficent ruler. Imbued with the simple and frugal tastes he had acquired when a Buddhist monk, on one occasion, when one of the great men of the Court remonstrated with the monarch for restraining its magnificence in the furniture and figures of gold and silver, pointing out that such things lent éclat to his dignity as sovereign:

The glory of a sovereign [replied the Emperor] does not consist in the costly and superfluous trappings of rank, but in being master of a people whom he renders happy. I have the whole empire for my domain; shall I be less wealthy for wanting these useless ornaments, and if I set an example of luxury how can I condemn it in my subjects?

Although so able as a general, Hung Wu was a lover of peace, but his desire for that blessing did not blind him to the necessity of embarking on warfare, when so doing would ensure permanent

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tranquillity to his empire. As humane and far-seeing as he was courageous, Hung Wu softened defeat to his enemies by treating them when in his power with consideration. The grandson of the last Mongol Emperor having been taken prisoner by his troops, Hung Wu's councillors urged that this prince might cause trouble, and urged that, following the example set by the greatest of the Sung emperors under similar circumstances, Hung Wu should have the captive prince put to death in the ancestral hall of the Imperial family.

I know [replied Hung Wu] that this emperor caused Wang Shechung to be put to death in the hall of the Ancestors. I doubt very much whether he would have done this had the person in question been a member of the family of Suy, his predecessors on the throne. Let the wealth brought from Tartary be put into the public treasury to defray the expenses of the suite. With regard to Prince Maetelepala, his ancestors have been masters of the empire nearly a hundred years; mine were their subjects; and even were it customary to put to death the members of a family expelled from the throne, it is a severity to which I could never yield.

The Emperor then conferred on the captive prince the title of a prince of the third rank, desired him to assume Chinese dress, and assigned him a palace in which to reside with the princesses who were his wives. Before long the Emperor sent the captive prince back to his father in Tartary, commanding the escort to treat him with all honour, and that the greatest care should be taken that no harm befell the heir of the Mongol throne on the journey; for such was the position of the captive prince.

Little is heard of the White Lotus Society during the rule of the Ming Emperors; but after the throne had again fallen into the hands of a foreign dynasty-namely, the Manchus-the White Lotus League began to cause uneasiness in high quarters, and in 1763 the Emperor Kien-lung issued an edict against it, as also against the two kindred societies of Illustrious Worthies and the White Cloud Sect. The object of these societies was the restoration of their native Ming Dynasty. The White Lotus are said still to exist in the northern portion of China, but sunk into obscurity with the increasing importance of the Hung League, known as the Heaven and Earth League, or Triad Society. nearly all secret societies, the Hung League lays claim to an origin of almost mystical antiquity; it probably has an ancient descent, but did not assume a position of importance till the downfall of the Ming Emperors, when its avowed object became the restoration of that dynasty and the expulsion of the Manchus.

For long it was almost impossible to obtain any accurate information about the real objects and obligations of the Triad Society; both in China and the colonies the league was proscribed by severe laws, and though the *literati* and gentry were

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often members of the forbidden league, prejudice or fear made them unwilling to speak on the subject to outsiders. In 1863, however, a number of books were found by the police at Padang in Sumatra, which, on investigation, proved to contain the statutes, oaths, rites of initiation, catechism and so on of the Triad Society; and in Hong Kong from time to time similar volumes belonging to the association containing its laws, symbols, signs and so forth fell into the hands of the detective force.

The traditional account given by the Triads of their assumption of a political aim is that in the reign of the Manchu Emperor Kang-hi, the monks of a certain Buddhist monastery, which had existed for about a thousand years in a secluded and romantic spot in the hills of the Tachin prefecture, volunteered their services to the Emperor to free the empire from the incursions of a tributary prince, who had thrown off his allegiance to China. Though Buddhists, the monks had devoted a portion of their time to studying military tactics and strategy, and had become adepts in the warlike arts of the day; accordingly, when a proclamation was issued offering great rewards to 'all persons, whether noble or mean, males or females, or Buddhist or Taoist priests, who would come forward and subdue the terrible Silu State, and free China from her foe,' a certain man named Cheng Kiuntah, who had studied and taken high honours in this monastery of Shao-lin, saw the proclamation and hurried off to consult the monks on the steps he proposed they should take with regard to it. The 128 monks in the Shao-lin monastery determined unanimously to offer their services to the Emperor, and went in a body and took down the proclamation, which was the sign that they undertook the matter referred to in it. The Imperial Guard then took charge of the proclamation, and escorted the monks to the Court. The Emperor granted them an interview and inquired into their military capabilities. Having satisfied himself on this point, the Emperor gladly accepted their proffered services, and offered them whatever assistance they deemed necessary in men and money. The monks answered that they needed horses and provisions, but would not want a single Their request being granted, the Emperor conferred plenary powers on the monks, and gave them a sword and a triangular jade seal on which characters were engraved. Equipped with these marks of imperial favour, and having selected a lucky day for their start, the monks set forth on their enterprise; and having cut their way through mountains, bridged rivers, and overcome numerous obstacles, the band at length reached the territory held by the rebel prince; there they encamped and built themselves a strong stockade. Before long the Silu army appeared and attacked the entrenchment.

did not long remain on the defensive, but sallying out rode through the barbarian soldiers, hacking and slashing them to pieces as easily 'as if they were splitting bamboos.' The valiant monks gained fight after fight in similar fashion, till at length the Prince of Silu, despairing of victory, sued for peace, which the monks granted on his undertaking to return to his former allegiance and tribute.

It only took three months to accomplish this feat, and amid songs of triumph from the people wherever the little band passed,

the victorious monks returned to the capital.

So delighted was the Emperor at their success that he wished to bestow on them whatever offices they chose, but the monks desired no such favours; all they asked was to be allowed to retire to the seclusion of their monastery.

Your subjects [said they] lead a pure life, and are priests who follow the doctrine of the divine Buddha. We would not have dared to transgress his pure precepts, if it had not been that the country was ruined by the soldiers of Eleuth (i.e. Silu); so we have destroyed and exterminated them; but now we ought again to obey those pure precepts, forbidding us to desire worldly happiness and accept inconsiderately of high posts. We all wish to return to our convent Shao-lin, there again to worship Buddha, to say our prayers, to sanctify our life, and to correct our minds, that we may reach perfection and enter Nigban (Nirvana). We only accept of the presents which your Majesty bestows upon us, in order to requite your divine favours.

The Emperor in person accompanied the monks to the door when they left the palace, and crowds of country-people welcomed them on their return to their beloved and beautiful monastery.

In this convent for several years they lived in peace and honour, but unhappily the Emperor Kang-hi died, and in the reign of his successor a cruel and treacherous official was given high office in the province, who, coveting the precious gifts bestowed on Shao-lin by the late Emperor, continued to inspire the mind of the ruling monarch with doubts as to the loyalty of the monks, hoping to destroy them and himself obtain possession of the treasures guarded in the monastery. This treacherous official insinuated to the Emperor that it would be easy for monks who had conquered the Silu army to subdue the Empire itself, and pointed out that the fate of the country was in the power of these men, who might overthrow the dynasty 'as easily as they turned round their heads.' Unhappily this villain so wrought upon the mind of the Emperor that he became alarmed, and asked, if the monks were indeed so unassailable, what could be done against them. The treacherous official answered that if his Majesty would give him command of three or four hundred

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men of the Imperial Guards, he would himself destroy the monks of Shao-lin.

At first the Emperor ridiculed the idea of so small a force being of any avail against such formidable warriors, whereupon the cunning official assured the monarch that it was his intention secretly to set the monastery on fire and blow it up with gunpowder. Convinced at last of the feasibility of the plan, the Emperor placed some hundreds of his guards at the disposal of the traitor, and as soon as it was possible the expedition started, but so secluded was the position of the monastery that in vain they attempted to discover it. While reconnoiting the forest, however, they came upon a renegade monk who had been expelled from Shao-lin on the discovery being made by the brethren that their erring companion was carrying on an intrigue with the wife and the sister of Cheng-Kiun-tah. This disreputable monk had ranked seventh in the brotherhood, and had been flogged and ignominiously driven from the convent on the discovery of the scandal, and he was still burning with rage and hatred against his former companions; so on learning the object of the expedition, he gladly volunteered as the tool for carrying out the terrible work on hand. In the silence and darkness of the night he guided them to the ill-fated monastery. they stole up to the surrounding wall, piled gunpowder against it, heaped up inflammable materials, and when the soldiers set the trains on fire the buildings were speedily enveloped flames. The greater number of the monks perished in the conflagration, eighteen of them succeeded in escaping from the burning building, but of these, thirteen were so terribly burnt and injured that they died on the road while flying from their ruined monastery; hence the saying of the members of the Triad Society: 'They died on the Huang-chun road, and though a myriad years pass, they shall be avenged.' The number seven is tabooed by the society, and the word Kat, meaning 'good luck,' substituted for it, owing to the fact of the traitor who betrayed the brotherhood having been seventh amongst the monks.

After many hardships, many narrow escapes, and several miraculous interpositions saving them from capture, the five surviving monks were wandering one day along the banks of a river, when their attention was arrested by something drifting along in the current. On dragging it out they were surprised to find it was a large tripod-shaped incense burner, on which was inscribed the sentence, 'Subvert Tsing, restore Ming.' Greatly marvelling, the monks placed the incense burner on a stone to serve as an altar, and being destitute of the proper materials to use in worship, they substituted guava twigs for candles and blades of grass for incense, and offered libations of water, not

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having any wine. Amazed at the wonderful recovery of the tripod, they knelt and prayed that the destruction of their monastery by a Tsing Emperor might be avenged by a Ming ruler. As they knelt another wonder occurred, for behold, the twigs and grass burst into flames and began to burn of their own accord! Three times they had prayed for a sign; three times had thrown the divining blocks, and every time the blocks had turned favourably, so they knew their prayer would be granted. They returned to the Red Flower pavilion where they had found refuge, and related the wonderful things that had happened to their host, who said: 'It is the will of heaven that the Tsing dynasty should be overthrown and the Ming reinstated; undoubtedly the time for vengeance is fixed.'

Then they all agreed to unite themselves before heaven and earth, like the three famous ones of old, who swore in the Peach Garden to remain friends for life and death. They all pricked their fingers and mingled the blood with wine, they drank of it, and swore an oath to be like brethren, and go all over the world, to buy horses, raise braves, and enlist men for the cause. agreed that those already of the society should be termed elder brothers, those who came later to be styled younger brothers, and all were to take the oath in the Red Flower Pavilion. night as they gazed heavenward they saw the southern sky open, and brilliant stars form the words: 'Heaven's manifestation to the country,' a motto afterwards inscribed on the banner of the brotherhood. The night was one of portents, for a bright red light gleamed in the eastern sky, and caused them to adopt the name of Hung as that of the brotherhood; Hung (meaning red) when pronounced has the same sound as the characters in Chinese 3-8-20-and 1, which represent heaven and earth, the odd numbers 3 and 1 standing for heaven, the 8 and 20 representing earth; therefore the word Hung was adopted as meaning both red, and heaven and earth, as the designation of the society. These mystic numbers are thus alluded to in the following lines used as one of their numerous watchwords, or rather verses, by the Triad Society, as the Hung brotherhood is usually called amongst Europeans:

The third month sees the pearl tree blossoming;
The eight immortals come to fix the date,
The twentieth day we go to fight with Tsing;
By one word, through all time is known our fate.

After the formation of the Heaven and Earth League on political lines, the revolts and disturbances which broke out in Chins from time to time were often due to the influence of the Society, and the brethren were active participators in such rebellions.

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ated; and and Peach ricked t, and ld, to t was elder thers, That open, on to of the nt red pt the aning acters and 8 and ted as of the The terrible Taiping rebellion broke out in 1854. Its leaders were at first affiliated with the Hung League, but their chief, Hung-sin-tsien, having obtained a veneer of Christianity, before long assumed the title of 'King of the Heavenly Kingdom of Universal Peace,' and arrogated to himself the function of worshipping in person 'Shangti,' Creator of all things. China the adoration of the 'Supreme Ruler' is a function reserved to the Emperor alone, who annually offers in the Temple of Heaven adoration and sacrifice on behalf of his people and empire. To usurp this function is tantamount to high treason; and the Taiping leader and his followers were consequently proclaimed traitors and rebels by the government. 'The King of the Heavenly Kingdom of Universal Peace,' unfortunately for China and for himself, aimed at making his

kingdom 'of this world.' Before long the Taiping dogmas merged into excesses and extravagances, which separated their adherents more and more from Christianity, and from the views of the Heaven and Earth Society. The latter seems to have realised that the Taipings would prove rivals rather than allies, and an open rupture took place when it was discovered that their funds, which the 'Heavenly King' had persuaded them to place for safety in his military chest, had been embezzled by one of the Taiping religious teachers. The fact that the 'Long-haired Rebels' (as the Taipings were designated) had made Nankingthe old seat of government of the Ming dynasty-their headquarters, may have led the Triads to imagine that the Taipings' aims were identical with theirs; but in spite of the execution of the thief who had taken their treasure, the Heaven and Earth Association not only withdrew from the cause of the Taipings, but actually allied themselves for the time being with the Imperialists, whereupon 'the Heavenly King' denounced his former allies, and declared that anyone joining his standard must sever all connexion with the Hung League.

To trace the history of the League through its political windings would be impossible within restricted limits, but it may be of some interest to glance at the aims and aspirations of the association, as far as they can be gathered from its ritual, symbols, and statutes.

The aims professed by the League are in most respects laudable, as is generally the case with similar societies. Unfortunately, however, in practice it has degenerated into a dangerous association, identifying itself with pirates, robbers, and When the great Confucian axiom 'The doctrine of the mean' is forgotten, and aspirations aim at the impossible. the enthusiast who so aspires too often becomes a fanatic; when a society is actively animated by anxiety to attain the impos-

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sible, however lofty and alluring its ideals, the result of attempt. ing to carry them into practice is apt to produce confusion and disaster. The Taipings preached the advent of a 'Heavenly Kingdom of Universal Peace,' and produced an earthly pandemonium. The Hung League aimed at a universal brotherhood. and degenerated into an association of robbers and pirates.

Many designations have been attached to the Hung League. most of which arose from watchwords in use by it; the only three names accurately applying to it are the Incense-Burners, the Heaven and Earth League, and the Three United League. from the latter of which comes the name, usually employed by Europeans, of the Triad Society. The Incense-Burners was probably a name in popular use, and is employed in an Imperial edict referring to the Society; the Hung or Heaven and Earth League was what they called themselves, and the name of the Three United League is based on the bonds existing between

heaven, earth, and man.

The date when the Hung League assumed a political complexion may be fairly accurately settled, but the society lays claim to a far higher antiquity, and states in its catechism (thirtysecond answer), 'Since the time of the foundation of the world was laid we all use the name of Hung.' It seems not improbable that at its first inception the Society was a mystical or esoteric sect, and may in this form claim high antiquity. Besides the meaning already given, the Chinese character denoting 'Hung' is composed of signs signifying water and money, which, when combined in the character for 'Hung,' mean inundation, implying that the League desires to inundate the world with the blessings flowing from the exercise of the primary virtues, and that all who desire to liberate their fellows from tyranny and immorality are in reality members of a league whose influence consequently is boundless as is an inundation.

'Obey heaven and act righteously ' is a fundamental adage of the Society, and is inscribed on the walls of their Lodge. Rigid

morality is inculcated in their writings and rituals.

Make righteous profits and gains, and fulfil your duties;

Do not act wrongly, and confuse right and wrong.

Drink pure and clear water, but do not touch the wine of brothels. Commune with virtuous friends and renounce heartless companions. If people insult you, abuse you—how ought you to take it? You ought to bear it, suffer it, endure it, and forgive it. Don't ask immoral people to drink wine with you. Don't believe those who are righteous with their mouths and unrighteous in their hearts. Do not frequent people who turn you a cold shoulder and are without heart or faith.

Do not despise people whose fortune has turned; for you will only be for a few years a lamb and an inferior. Always remember in your actions the fundamental principles of Heaven, Earth, and of yourself. Let your

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name be Hung. The statutes and concerns of the Hung League are handed down from man to man, and in the red flower pavilion you have bound vourself by an oath.

The ritual contains many Buddhist and Taoist symbols and allusions. On the diplomas of the brethren is depicted the mysterious 'Yang and Yin,' representing 'Heaven and Earth'; 'Darkness and Light'; 'Sun and Moon'; 'Heat and Cold'; 'Motion and Rest'; 'Positive and Negative'; 'Male and Female.' This symbol is common all over China, and, strange to say, is found depicted in early Celtic art. The 'Yang and Yin,' united, denote 'harmony,' and produce Man, the only visible creature, according to old Chinese philosophy, 'endowed with intellect, and who is able to do actions worthy of praise or blame, of reward or punishment, according as he is virtuous or depraved.' The intimate union between Heaven, earth, and man is symbolised by the triangle, described as 'three united in one.' A jade triangular seal, it may be remembered, was one of the gifts bestowed by the Emperor on the monks who came to his assistance, and was used by them on official documents. symbol is of Taoist origin. 'The Tao,' wrote Laotze, the old philosopher and founder of the sect, 'produced one; one produced two; two produced three; three produced all things.' 'The great Tao,' explains the same sage, 'is very even, but the people like the paths. The Tao may be looked upon as the mother of the I don't know its name; I call it the Tao or the Road.' Confucius denominated the Tao the 'right medium.' This seems synonymous with the great First Cause or Shang-ti, the Being we denominate the Heavenly Father, whom, as has been stated, the Emperor alone might worship in person. In ancient times this worship was performed on the tops of five high mountains, to whose summit the Emperor ascended alone, while the people remained standing at the foot of the peak. Later on, the inconvenience and loss of time occasioned by journeys to these heights are said to have been the cause of the creation of a temple for the celebration of the worship. It was called 'the temple erected by the dynasty of Hia, in honour of Him who made the ages and generations.' In 1122 B.c. this temple was named 'Ming-thang,' i.e. 'temple erected in honour of Him who is the source of all light,' or simply 'The Temple of Light.' In Chinese the character for ming, light, is composed of two parts, which denote 'Sun and Moon.' Later on the temple was divided into two, the Temple of the Sun, and the Temple of the Moon, or, more literally, the altar of the sun and that of the moon. It is considered possible that the expression often used in the Hung ritual, ' Ming-thang,' ' Hall of the Ming or Bright Dynasty,' otherwise Temple of Light, may refer to this ancient Light or Sun Temple.

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and that the aim of the Society is not only the restoration of the Ming dynasty, but that deeper down in an esoteric sense is the idea of diffusing light throughout the Middle Kingdom. Just as in Christianity, we see the teachings of its Founder degraded and twisted by Socialists and syndicalists into authorisations for robbery, lawlessness, and outrages, so in the Hung League the creed inculcating temperance, purity, honesty, morality, and other virtues, has been used to sanction their very opposites.

The ceremonies and ritual of initiation into the Hung League are long and elaborate, and, if carried out in full, a Triad Lodge would almost present the appearance of a regular camp, but a proscribed society has to adapt its ceremonial to circumstances. and the rites are usually carried out in a modified form, paper representations being substituted for the actual objects necessary, and many persons, especially women, are privately initiated, without actually entering a lodge. When constructed in due form, the Triad Lodge should be square (the world in China being represented by a square), and ought to be surrounded by a wall with a gate at each of the cardinal points. Over each gate is hoisted the flag of the General who guards the gate. Each flag has its motto, such as 'Covenant of the golden orchid,' which means the 'swearing of fraternal friendship'; 'To the East and West it is difficult to go'; 'Sun, moon, mountains, and streams come from the Eastern Sea'; and so forth.

On the walls of the lodge are depicted squares, a square being the old emblem of the State, and the mystical triangle, symbol of union, the two combined denoting 'a State enjoying universal peace.' Over the principal entrance gate is written 'The City of Willows,' and the pavilion at the top is surmounted by the famous gourd or calabash, with a twig inserted at each side.

The interior of the lodge is divided into three apartments, in the last of which, the Hall of Fidelity and Loyalty, are kept the tablets of the Founders, and in the centre of the room stands the 'precious nine-storied pagoda,' containing images of the same Founders. A correctly constructed lodge ought to have this hall surrounded by a moat with water in it, and a stone bridge spanning the moat. Occasionally Triad lodges are concealed in the recesses of forests and constructed of bamboo or tree trunks. In towns, the dwelling of the President of the local league is often fitted up as far as practicable so as to conduct the ceremonies in it. In Hong-Kong, in quarries and out-of-the-way places, stages, some fifty feet square, are sometimes erected to serve as lodges, and are partitioned into three parts to represent the outer, inner, and centre walls of a city. When initiations take place, a bamboo hoop, representing a gateway, is held by two men at the entrance CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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, and amboo to each division. They are armed with swords, and candidates have to go through the hoops on their knees. As many as fifty candidates are sometimes received at a meeting. Initiations usually take place at night, and, when the entire ritual is gone through, are lengthy proceedings lasting several hours. When a novice is privately received, the principal officers of the lodge go to the appointed place (generally a private house), and, after explaining the objects of the League to the candidate, administer the oath to the man or woman, as the case may be—then and there, calling later on to give the novice instruction in the signs, passwords, and phrases used for recognition amongst the members.

An ancient Triad poem, entitled 'Binding the Righteous Brethren,' invites ' the rich, the honourable, the honest vagrants, soldiers, officials of State, lawyers, scholars, thieves, mendicants, merchants, farmers, and all others who are loyal and patriotic, to join the Hung Brethren in bringing back the Mings,' from which it would seem that very few people are ineligible for membership in the Society; nevertheless, each candidate must be proposed by an officer of the association, who guarantees his fitness for affiliation, and who instructs the candidate beforehand how to act, and what to say, during the initiation ceremony. On the appointed night, the lodge officers arrange their hair in Ming fashion, wearing red turbans, and, if possible, Ming official robes, and open the proceedings by lifting the peck or bushel (indispensable on such occasions), and placing it on a table in front of the principal shrine, meantime reciting an appropriate verse. The bushel contains fire-coloured cloth, fire-coloured silk thread, incense, fasting vegetables, red wood, plums, long cash, a metal mirror, an abacus, steelyard, a foot measure, all of which have a symbolic meaning, which it would be tedious to go into here. At either side of the bushel are placed a fir and a cedar (symbols of never-dying and ever-regenerating life), ink, and pencil; the yellow silk State canopy, red rice, the Hung Lamp, and many other objects too numerous to mention, all emblematic, and with ritual allusions, pointing to the original source whence the League sprung.

The usual verse accompanies the arranging of these articles:

Within the lodge the granaries are filled with provisions;
The precious swords, both flashing, stand in the bushel.
Like two Phœnixes looking towards the sun, the brethren stand around it.
On the golden steps they are assembled to establish the bonds and virtues.

After a club and other symbolic articles have been laid on the table, or more properly the altar, the incense-burner is placed there with much ceremony, and five large incense sticks are

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placed in it in honour of the five monks of Shao-lin, called the five patriarchs of the League. A long poem is recited, beginning:

Let this incense rise to Heaven's height,
While we swear opposition to the Tsings,
We will the wrong of Shao-lin's fire requite,
The Mongols slaughter and restore the Mings, etc.

These appropriate poems at each ceremonial act are monotonous and lengthy, in one instance the verses run to no fewer than one hundred and eight stanzas. No candidate may wear silk garments at his initiation, in preparation for which his queue is partly unplaited, his shoes are removed, and the lappet of his coat is unfastened so as to hang open. He is made to repeat verses expressive of his faith and loyalty, and remembrance 'of the affair of the five founders,' and declares:

In the tenth month the peach flowers are everywhere fragrant; I have heard since long and found that the Hung are faithful and good; Each of them is a faithful and excellent officer—

In the peach garden Lin, Kwan, and Chung have pledged fraternity. The heroes are assembled together this night

To assist the dynasty of Ming with sincere and faithful hearts.

To-night I have succeeded in seeing the face of the Master;

This is better than to approach the Emperor in his imperial palace.

The peach is the symbol of long life and immortality, and is constantly used in Chinese embroideries, carvings, porcelain and literature in this emblematic sense.

The novice next swears to his birth certificate, and gives his names at length, so that all the brethren may hear. These particulars are entered in a book kept for the purpose. This having been done the applicant for admission is tested in the genuineness of his preparation for that favour; if the master extends one finger, the candidate must not open his fingers; neither if the master stretches out three or four fingers; but if five fingers are held out the novice must open his hand in response. These preliminaries over, the candidate enters the first Hung gate, the master having granted his permission for the entrance of the novice, who is received in the inner division of the lodge by all the brethren drawn up in a double row and crossing their swords so as to form an arch under which the novice passes. Wooden swords, or a piece of red cloth, are often used in this ceremony, which is termed 'Passing the bridge.'

In the phraseology of the Society candidates are termed New Horses; when these, after various ceremonies, at length reach the 'Hall of Fidelity and Loyalty,' the objects of the League are more fully explained to them; the grievances against the Tartar dynasty enlarged on; fearful threats uttered against such as withdraw from the lodge; and rewards promised to those CC-0 in Public Domain Surukti Kangir Collection, Handwar

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who perform their duties and hold to their obligations. A very long catechism next takes place between the master and the 'Vanguard,' or Introducer, who answers on behalf of the novice. In this catechism are contained many of the signs and passwords, most of which are allusions to the experiences of the five monks on their escape from the monastery. The following is a sample of the catechism:

- Q. Whence do you come?
- A. I come from the East.
- Q. How can you prove that?
- A. I can prove it by a verse.
- Q. How does this verse run?
- A. When sun and moon rise together, the East is bright.

 A million of warriors are the heroes of Hung.

 When Tsing is overturned, the true lord of Ming restored,
 The faithful and loyal will be made grandees.
- Q. At what time did you come hither?
- A. I went at sunrise when the East was light.
- Q. Why did you not come earlier or later, but just at sunrise? How can you prove this?
 - A. I can prove it by a verse.
 - Q. How does this verse run?
 A. As I was roaming over the mountains, the sun was still obscured;
 The heart of man on earth turns to the east.
 - When the cock crowed at dawn I wished to help my native country; The bright pearl rose [i.e. the sun] and reddened myriads of miles around.

The long catechism continues, full of mystical references to the tenets and purposes of the Society, the history of its founders, and replete with mysterious numbers, fables, and symbols, the true meaning of which is probably little understood by the brethren themselves, and which are full of astrological and emblematical lore. After a string of questions and answers of portentous length, the catechism ends by the master saying:

I have examined you in everything, and there is no doubt about your being Thian-yu-hung. Rise and prostrate yourself three times before our true Lord. I have a precious sword and a warrant to give you. All who are in truth faithful and loyal you may bring hither to pledge themselves; but those who are untruthful and disloyal you ought to bring without the gates, cut off their heads and expose them.

Whereupon the 'Vanguard' chimes in:

The sword and warrant of the commander are now given to Thian-yuhung, and now I can go to all the lodges in the world, according to my wishes.

So far the ceremonies have been of a preliminary nature, the novice has not as yet bound himself by oath to the League; however, he has not much option in the matter, for at this stage comes the grim direction that, in the event of the candidate

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refusing to go through the ceremony of full adoption into the Society, he is to be 'led by an executioner without the west gate' and decapitated. Probably in view of such a contingency, refusal to persist in going to the end of the affiliation ceremony is extremely rare. The steadfast candidate is now conducted by the 'Vanguard' into the 'Red Flower Pavilion,' where an 'Elder Brother' stands beside each novice (there are generally several) and answers in his name. The new member is then shorn of his queue and his hair is cut in Ming fashion. Cutting off the queue, amounting to an act of treason under Manchu rule, is either performed symbolically or a false queue substituted.

The candidate's face is now washed, as an emblematic puri-

fication.

Wash clean the dust of Tsing, and the colour of your face will appear; Do away with your corruptness and perversity—to sit in the temple of Ming.

The upper garments of the new brother, being made in Manchu fashion, are now removed, and he is clothed in a long white robe and a red handkerchief folded round his head.

In my hand I hold a white cloth, happier than an immortal; Wound around my body, I go to call together troops;

When, on another day, our Lord shall have ascended the Imperial throne, I shall take off my mourning dress, and follow the Emperor's army.

White is the colour of deep mourning in China; the red handkerchief is also symbolic according to the appropriate verse on donning it:

The red sun above our heads mounts to the nine heavenly regions; Gradually he marches till within the City of Willows; Conceal the secrets and don't let them leak out.

For from the beginning till the end the brethren must all be called Hung.

Straw shoes, of the kind worn by mourners, are now given to the novice, and thus clad he is led before the altar, on which stands the sacred white incense-burner; all present take nine blades of grass in lieu of incense, and the formulary of the oath, written on large sheets of yellow paper, is laid on the censer. Incense is offered, and the brethren each stick their nine blades of grass into the censer, one by one, repeating stanzas while so doing.

Two small torches, and a red candle, are now lighted, the brethren prostrate themselves and reverence Heaven and Earth, renew their obligation to restore the Mings, and pour three libations of wine out of cups of jade. Next the seven-starred lamp is lighted, and finally the 'precious, imperial lamp.'

The glowing brightness of the precious lamp reaches the nine regions of Heaven.

In Heaven alone are clearly seen the traitors and the faithful; If it is predestined we'll go together to the precious imperial palace, Where the oglittering of a manufacture of the oglittering of a manufacture of the order of

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The lamps having all been lighted, the incense glowing in the censer, and the room suffused with perfume, the divinities are implored to accept the offerings:

Solemnly we now burn incense and make this prayer to Swan-Ku, who first sundered Heaven and Earth. Revering the Heavenly doctrine of being united in one, we fervently wish to overthrow Tsing, and restore Ming, in order to obey the will of Heaven (desiring that Heaven and Earth shall roll on together) . . . We now burn incense here and make this prayer: we pray that it may reach the Supreme Ruler of the August Heaven; the first heavenly one; the three lights-sun, moon (and stars); the five planets and seven rulers; the divine Prince Wu-tae [name of a constellation], that it may reach the Heavenly Ruler who bestows happiness, and the supreme Lao-Kim.

'The Buddha of the Western Heaven,' the 'divine Buddha,' 'the Supreme Ruler of the dark Heaven of the North Pole,' the 'Queen of Heaven, the golden flowery, blessing-bestowing lady,' 'the seventy-two stars of Earth,' 'the Lord of the Winds, the Ruler of the Rain, the God of Thunder,' the ' Mother of Lightning,' 'the courtly Snow Spirit,' and 'all the angels and starprinces,' 'the gods and Buddhas who swerve through the void,' spirits of rivers, and mountains, and of the land and the grain,' and many other occult powers, are likewise invoked and besought to descend on the altar:

As we are assembled this night to pledge by our oath fraternity with all the brethren, so help us that we may all be enlightened, so that we may get the desire to obey Heaven and act righteously.

After enumerating other powerful spiritual influences, the invocation concludes:

All the benevolents in the two capitals and thirteen provinces have now come together to beseech Father Heaven and Mother Earth; the three lights, sun, moon [and stars]; all the gods, saints, Genii and Buddhas, and all the star-princes, to help them all to be enlightened. This night we pledge ourselves, and vow this promise before Heaven, that the brethren in the whole universe shall be as from one womb; as if born from one father, as if nourished by one mother, and as if they were of one stock and origin; that we will obey Heaven and act righteously; that our faithful hearts shall not alter and shall never change. If August Heaven assists us to restore the dynasty of Ming-then happiness will have a place to return to.

The prayer being ended, the brethren rise from their knees to make eight salutations for Heaven, Earth, sun, moon, and stars, the five Founders, etc. The written oath, which has remained on the censer during the performance of the above ceremonies, is now taken down and read by one of the members to the novices, who remain kneeling while the oath is read. The oath consists of thirty-six articles, too long to quote, but of which the following are taken as specimens:

ARTICLE 1.

From the moment that you have entered the Hung League you must quietly fulfil your duties and keep in your own business. It has always been said that filial love is the first of all virtues; therefore, you must respect and obey both your parents, and obey and venerate your superiors. Do not resist your father and mother and so violate the laws of the Hung League. He who does not keep this command, most surely will not be suffered by Heaven and Earth, but he shall be crushed by five thunderbolts! Each of you ought to obey this.

ARTICLE 5.

After having entered the Hung League you ought to be faithful and loyal. You must consider the father of a brother as your father, his mother as your mother, his sister as your sister, his wife as your sister-in-law.

Do not lie or speak evilly!

When you marry the daughter of a brother, you ought to employ go-betweens, and marry her with the prescribed ceremonies; and it shall not be allowed you to come together unlawfully, neither shall you seduce the wife or concubine of a brother.

He who does not keep this command, may he perish in a river or lake, may his bones sink to the bottom, and his flesh float on the surface! Besides, if the brethren discover it, one of his ears will be cut off, and he will be punished with 108 blows.

These will serve as examples of the trend of the thirty-six articles of the oath, which are read over to the kneeling brethren, who confirm the oath with their blood. Tea is first drunk, then a bowl of wine is brought, and the brethren prick their middle finger with a silver needle, and allow some of their blood to mingle with the wine, which they all taste, and repeat the following oath:

We mixed the blood and unanimously worshipped the five men, Who, at that time, made a league under the peach trees; From the present time that we've sworn this oath we'll never change; But we'll be more cordial than those born from the same womb, and of one flesh and bone.

Having confirmed their oath by the draught of wine and blood, a white cock is brought, and the new member chops off its head, and the following execration is pronounced:

The white cock is the token, and we have shed its blood and taken an oath; While the faithful and loyal shall be dukes and marquises for countless The unfaithful and disloyal shall perish like this cock;

We have drunk the wine, and confirmed by an oath that we pledged our selves toorsise (the ostand adurt) was to the consection; Haridwar

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The traitors and intriguers shall perish by the sword:
Their body and head shall be severed, and their bones and flesh shall be in different places.

The paper with the oath is then thrown into a furnace, as it is believed that in this manner the oath will ascend to Heaven, and punishments fall on those who break it. This concludes the initiation ceremony, and the new member is now entitled to receive the linen diploma of membership, which he is enjoined always to keep on his person in case of falling into the power of pirates or robbers who may be members of the brotherhood. The remainder of the night is passed in merry-making, and at dawn the new members assume their ordinary attire and all return homewards.

The signs, tokens, and passwords of the fraternity are so numerous that their mere enumeration would fill a volume, and to recall them to mind on appropriate occasions would require a memory Chinese in its retentiveness. If a line of a verse in use by the Society is quoted by a member to anyone he meets, the latter, if belonging to the League, reveals the fact by continuing the stanza. When travelling, a brother, if desirous of ascertaining the road, might sing or say:

I don't ask for South and North, or East and West,
For since antiquity the speck of red is dazzling bright;
My faithful heart and sun and moon [i.e. the Hung League] are manifest.
Why should I grieve, then, that people in the world won't stop and tell

Another brother hearing these lines would at once recognise the singer and put him on the right road. If a member is asked whence he came, he replies, 'I come from the East.' If questioned as to whither going, he answers, 'I want to go to the place where I can join the myriads of brethren.' Both answers reveal him to fellow initiates.

In entering a house, if the member wishes to ascertain if any of his fellow Hungs be there, he stops a moment on the threshold and enters by the left foot; his umbrella, with a handkerchief with a knot in it tied to the point, is placed in the left corner of the room; when taking his seat on a chair, if he points the toes of his shoes towards each other, he lets those who are enlightened see that he too is 'one who has done the eight salutations.'

If the owner of the house be absent, a pair of shoes left at the threshold with toes pointing towards each other will indicate that a brother has called. The position of shoes lying with soles upwards or downwards, the way the hat is held, the handkerchief carried, the collar buttoned, the queue worn, and so on, all are signs of recognition, warning, and mutual understanding amongst

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the brethren. Tucking up the right leg of the pantaloons, whilst the left hangs down, betokens that the wearer is a Hung brother to those who have 'eyes to see.' There are especial verses to discover the reciter to innkeepers, pirates and robbers. Drawing certain lines with an umbrella, pulling blades of grass, knocking a stone off a heap in the road, pointing to a shred of cloth lying on the ground, and asking a question as to a bridge—all are means of secret intercommunication amongst the enlightened.

Although the secrets of the League are to be kept from their families if uninitiated, certain verses may be taught to such to save them from violence if taken by Hung pirates or robbers. The

wife of a member is to repeat:

On the mountains a flower opens a speck of red. Don't plunder me as you would rob a stranger. If you, inimical foe, interrogate the wife of a Hung man-Three hundred and twenty-one are all Hung.

There are also verses suitable for sisters and other relations in like predicament. Chop-sticks, tea-cups, the manner of drinking wine, of smoking, of helping oneself to vegetables, of chewing betel-in short, nearly all the actions are used as tokens and signs, in some cases, such as tea-drinking, almost amounting to using a secret language. The wearing of Triad badges and amulets, another custom, would seem almost superfluous with such a multiplicity of other means of recognition at command.

The Association is governed by Five Grand Masters, who are the Masters of its five principal lodges. Each lodge has its President, two Vice-Presidents, two Introducers or Vanguards, a Fiscal,

thirteen Councillors, and some minor officials.

The Statutes of the League are seventy-two in number, added to which are twenty-one Regulations and ten Prohibitory Laws on Appointing Meetings in the Hall of Obedience to Hung. The laws of the Hung League apply to the conduct of the members in their daily life; offenders are liable to blows varying in number according to the offence; to the loss of one or both ears; and in flagrant cases of guilt, the death penalty is ordained. member to carry on an intrigue with the wife, sister, or daughter of a brother Hung is an offence for which the punishment of death is considered due. In 1884, not far from Hong-Kong, portions of two human bodies were found floating in the sea. Inquiry was made, and the police discovered that the mutilated bodies were those of a Hakka man and woman, supposed to have been members of the Triad Society, who had been guilty of adultery. When the neighbours discovered the scandalous conduct of the couple, they tried to arrest them, but the pair took to their health of the couple of The woman was soon caught, and took to their heels and fled.

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ruilty of andalous the pair ght, and the villagers continued to give chase to the man, all the time shouting 'Thief!' An Indian policeman heard the cry, and, under the impression that the man they were pursuing had really stolen something, stopped the delinquent and handed him over to the villagers, who forthwith tried the wretched man and woman before a Triad tribunal, which decreed the punishment of death and dismemberment for the erring couple; the sentence was forthwith carried out, and the pieces of the bodies flung into the sea. By the time the crime was discovered, those chiefly concerned in it—including the husband of the murdered woman—had made good their escape. Over a score of persons were arrested, charged with being concerned in the outrage, but so great was the influence of the Hung Society that it proved impossible to bring home the crime to any of them.

It has been estimated that in Hong-Kong at least a third of the Chinese men, and many of the women, are active members of the League; no estimate can be formed of the numbers belonging

to it in China itself.

The Hung League has long had a saying that 'Heaven and earth and man must be favourable to the overthrow of the Manchus.' That moment has come; it remains to be seen whether the remainder of the aspiration will be fulfilled and the Ming dynasty restored. Whatever happens, it is earnestly to be desired that the reign of Light may shine in the Middle Kingdom.

EDITH BLAKE.

HORACE AND THE SOCIAL LIFE OF ROME

There is something quite unique about Horace. That he has his limitations we are all well aware. No one knows them better than he knew them himself. Place him side by side with the most gifted poets of his own country, and these limitations become at once apparent. In intellectual majesty, in the sonorous and solemn stateliness of his verse, in the piercing power of his imagination, Lucretius ranks far above him. We shall not find in the Venusian either the spontaneity or the burning passion of Catullus. The haunting music in which Virgil half reveals and half conceals his tenderness of heart, his mysticism, his brooding sense of tears in mortal things, belongs to a world in which the fellow-poet to whom he was so deeply attached seems never to have moved at all.

But within his limits, and as the poet of social life, Horace stands unrivalled and alone. His mediocrity is the self-imposed mediocrity of conscious genius. It is not merely that for some two thousand years he has gone on attracting to himself an increasing host of friends. What is still more worthy of note is that his most intimate friends comprise such very diverse, we had almost said divergent, types. Men, for example, so wide apart in temperament and spirit as Newman and Gibbon, Bossuet and Voltaire, Pope and Wordsworth, Thackeray and Gladstone, Rabelais and Charles Lamb, seem all to have felt in Horace a like attraction and to have made of him an intimate friend. magnetic attraction to which such names as these collectively testify is a phenomenon of sufficient rarity to invite some attempt to explain it. And perhaps the most obvious explanation may be found in the poet's own personality. For behind the exquisite art of the Horatian lyrics, with their dexterous felicities of phrase and metre, and behind all the genial wit and wisdom of their author's social miscellanies and didactic writings, lies the spell of an irresistible personal charm.

Horace attracts us from so many different sides. A very Proteus of emotional moods, he is wholly innocent in his writings of any logical system, and belongs to no one philosophical school.

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Of humble and even servile origin, we find him the pet of the patrician circle. By profession a civil servant, he is by favour a Sabine proprietor. He can laugh at the Stoic pedant and pick holes in the self-indulgent Epicurean. Intellectually a complete sceptic in his attitude towards the conventional polytheism of the day, he is by no means devoid of a sincere piety of heart, and clothes his vague sense of the divine in the forms of the popular beliefs. To-day he is all for love and wine, to-morrow for the simple life and the precepts of divine philosophy. A true Roman in his terseness, his dignity of speech, his capacity for seriousness, his pride of patriotism, he is Greek in his literary grace and culture, and Italian in his love of beauty. Full of sympathy in his own heart, he is able to see deep into the hearts of others. The easy and accessible level of thought and feeling on which he moves, the sense of companionship and intimacy which he inspires, his sterling common-sense, his close grasp of reality, his confidential friendliness of tone and manner, his frank admission of his own faults and frailties—all these familiar characteristics of our Venusian poet combine to widen his hold upon the world at large and to keep him in familiar touch with his innumerable readers. Most happily has one of his most devoted admirers, the satirist Persius, depicted him in the well-known lines of which we venture an imperfect rendering:

> Flaccus, the rogue, can always raise a smile On a friend's face, though probing all the while His every foible, and with playful art Winning an entrance to his inmost heart. 1

It is important to bear in mind what manner of audience it was for whom this metrical Addison of Latin literature originally wrote. He did not address himself to the profanum vulgus, the mongrel rabble and 'dregs of Romulus' who had no higher interests than their daily panem et circenses, excitement and food, for he heartily despised and detested them. He was neither a Burns nor a Béranger. Nor did he write for the new plutocracy, though he carefully studied them as models for those life-like sketches of character which help to make his satires so attractive, so amusing and so unaging. He addressed himself, primarily, to the favoured guests of what was in his time the Holland House of Rome, the brilliant circle of men of affairs and men of letters, the quick-witted, well-educated, pleasure-loving Roman gentlemen, who met round the table of Augustus' great home-minister,

In Horace, never pedantic and never dull, a bon-vivant who was probably the most agreeable table-talker, story-teller, and

¹ Persius, Sat. I. 116.

² I. Sat. x. 78-91.

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diner-out of his time, a genial companion whose aim it was to be both amicus sibi and dulcis amicis, on good terms with himself and a joy to his friends, they found a man after their own heart. a man who knew how to amuse and interest them without ever degenerating into a bore. Hence it is that with this realistic writer, familiar as he was with every phase of contemporary society, we are never moving in a world of lay figures. There is no sensible gap in Horace between literature and life. As we read the satires or the epistles, we can only echo the words with which Mme. de Sévigné put down the Essays of Montaigne, 'Mon Dieu, que ce livre est plein de bon sens!' We feel that, had we but chanced to have a Horace amongst us, much of his portraiture might well have been painted yesterday. For he deals, for the most part, not with those comparatively few characteristics in which men differ, but with mankind in the mass, with that central and elemental human nature which is the joint inheritance of us all.

Horace is no idealist. He is at the very opposite pole to a poet like Shelley. He does not belong to the company of those rare creative spirits who see visions and dream dreams. He has not 'hitched his wagon to a star.' No ode of his has the clarion ring of the great sonnet, nor do we hear in him what we are taught to call the lyric cry. An easy-going Epicurean in temperament, and moving, in respect of thought and feeling, within relatively narrow boundaries, he attempts neither to scale the heights nor to sound the depths of the human soul. He had never known the transfiguring power of a great love, or the purifying power of a great sorrow. In his early manhood he had his share of climbing to do. But the critical years of probation were soon over, and once Maecenas had taken him up his future was assured and his pecuniary anxieties at an end. In his ideal of conduct he bears some resemblance to Goethe. It is an ideal of orderliness and sobriety, a nice balance of moral and bodily healthfulness, a golden mean between asceticism and hedonism. With a cheerful smile upon his face, Horace stands, as it were, in the middle of life's highway, and invites the average man, or the exceptional man in his average moments, to come and look in his glass. A very human, a very unheroic, a very lovable man, his sketches can never fade or lose their freshness, for they recall types in our Vanity Fair which stand fast through all the changes of time and circumstance. His moral axioms, which in schooldays may have seemed to us somewhat trite and stale, tend to maintain and strengthen their hold upon us both because they are so delightfully presented and because, as the years pass on, we are made to learn in the school of experience how well they fit

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in with the everyday realities of life. And if to this large-hearted and kindly humanity we add our poet's ironical yet genial humour, with its attendant shadow of pensiveness, the absence in him of all pretentiousness, his self-reliance and independence of spirit, his transparent honesty and candour, his instinctive tactfulness and good breeding, his calm, shrewd sanity of judgment, his wholesome teaching of the pure heart and the well-stocked contented mind as the master-keys to life, and the secret of real happiness, we shall be catching something of that personal attraction which is felt, by those who know him best, to be quite distinct from his artistic gifts and from his literary talent.

There was nothing, not even the study of Greek and Latin literature, in which this many-sided Italian genius took such unflagging interest as in human nature, including his own. He was as familiar with books as with the world around him. omnivorous reader, he was also a man of introspective and meditative habit, and yet at times the most sociable of companions. Always a keen and shrewd observer, he grew up to manhood in an age when Rome's long career of conquest, with its resulting interfusion of nationalities and races, had brought about a general anarchy of thought and feeling. Opulence, luxury, idleness, and slavery had poisoned the springs of life. By the lawless violence of the civil wars all this confusion was made worse confounded. The old landmarks of religion and morality had been torn up, and a swollen tide of demoralisation and corruption was threatening wholly to submerge what remained of the ancient commonwealth. Living for many years at the very centre of affairs, himself an important agent in a great intellectual, aesthetic, and religious reformation, the intimate and trusted friend of men who held his country's destiny in their hands, Horace had exceptional opportunities, as he had also an exceptional aptitude, for watching and noting the manners and morals of his day. It is in these circumstances that his writings present us at once with the best picture that we could have of contemporary Rome, and with a companion-picture, no less lifelike, of the writer himself.

Our poet was born under a lucky star. His boyhood was passed in close contact with social surroundings that were representative of the purest and the most wholesome traditions of Italian country life. Like Burns and Carlyle, he was thrice blessed with a father to whom his warm tributes of love and gratitude form some of the most delightful passages in literature. He received an excellent education. As the personal references in his compositions abundantly indicate, he formed congenial and enduring

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^{*} See a striking passage to this effect in Newman's Grammar of Assent, 4th edit. p. 78.

^{&#}x27;Qui sibi fidet dux reget examen.' I. Epis. xix. 23.

[&]quot; 'Quod petis hic est.' I. Epis. xi. 29.

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friendships with the foremost men of the day. He was endowed with exceptional gifts and with a strongly marked individuality, Except for some minor ailments, such as blear eyes and a weak digestion, he enjoyed, up to an early middle-age, sound if not robust health. As a writer and critic he attained the highest eminence, and basked in the sunshine of success. Upon the whole and as mortals count happiness and good fortune, he lived and died a fortunate and happy man.

The elder Horace, though he won his freedom before his son was born to him, had begun life as a public slave in the military colony of Venusia. After his enfranchisement he contrived to make and to save enough money to buy a small neighbouring farm. His daily business was to collect the dues arising out of the sales of property by auction, and, owing to the constant expropriation of owners during the civil wars, he seems to have made this business a success. It is easy, however, to understand that, in the circumstances, young Horace, who was apparently an only child, and a child, moreover, whose mother had not long survived his birth, must have been left a good deal to his own devices and to the indulgence of his own tastes. Readers of the odes will remember the lovely lines in which the poet idealises some real adventure of his infancy, when he had slipped through his nurse's fingers and in one of his solitary rambles had lost himself upon Mount Voltur. Knowing, as we do, his genius for friendship, it seems a natural inference that in his young days he would make the most of the society of his country neighbours. A glance at the second satire of the second book will show, for example, how sincere was his admiration for one Ofellus, a farmer near Venusia, a 'sage without rules' (abnormis sapiens), and, in his own humble way, a sort of Roger de Coverley among his people. As sketched for us in the satire referred to he stands out as an attractive specimen of the independent, selfrelying spirit, the homely and rugged virtues, of the Sabellian husbandman. The time was not very far distant when Horace would have to breathe the relaxing air of a dissolute and licentious capital, and his father's watchful training, supported strengthened by the wholesome influences of these Sabine uplands, must have done much to brace and fortify his character against that day. But his old home did even more for him than While it familiarised him with a mode of life austere in its simplicity, active in its daily industries, pure in its domestic integrity, and religious in its untutored piety, it served also to awaken the sleeping poet in him.

Born, as Horace was born, with a full share of the Italian sensitiveness to joy and beauty, what could have been more stimulating to him than the varied and picture sque scenery of the southern dowed uality. Weak if not ighest whole.

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an sensinulating southern Apennines? Twenty years and more had passed when he composed the odes in which the memories of the old homestead, with its familiar haunts, its favourite landscapes, its varied charms of hill and wood and river, dwell immortally enshrined. so deep had been their first impressions upon his mind that as he recalls them to his imagination he seems to be actually back in the old familiar places once again. The distant roar of impetuous Aufidus is still echoing in his ears. The wooded slopes of Voltore, the glens of Bantia, the low-lying pastures of Forentum, the crystal spring of Bandusia, Acherontia 'like an eagle's nest upon the crest of purple Apennine'-all seem to be actually mirrored in the poet's soul, and to be steeping his senses in the same delight as when they had been the loved companions of his boyhood. Assuredly it was not for nothing that the country had been his nursing mother and not the town.

When the time came to decide upon his son's educational future, considerations of convenience may naturally have inclined the elder Horace to send him to the school close at hand in Venusia which enjoyed the patronage of the local aristocracy. But to such a course there were serious drawbacks. culum was narrow, uninspiring, severely utilitarian. The spirit which it reflected was that commercial spirit of the main chance which so well suited the Roman type of character, and which Horace, in one of his latest epistles, has contemptuously contrasted with the free artistic spirit of Greek culture.7 Moreover, the social atmosphere of the school was not likely to prove congenial to a boy who was by nature shy. The 'great strapping sons of great strapping centurions' who frequented it s would be certain to look down upon a mere freedman's son, and to ruin all his chances of intellectual expansion by the blight of their arrogant contempt.

The father was not a man to hesitate where he thought that a future so dear to him was at stake. Whatever the fates might have in store, his lad should at any rate be given the advantage of as good an education as if he had been of knightly or of senatorial descent. Not content to entrust him, in such a city as Rome, to the care of any casual slave, this most unselfish and self-denying of parents turned his back on the claims of his local business, and himself accompanied Horace, then perhaps some twelve years of age, to the capital, so that he might keep him under his own eye, and supplement his school work with the informal

lessons of practical everyday experience.

These early lessons Horace never forgot, and later on, as he told his critics, he found in them the source and inspiration of They accustomed him, once for all, to look at life his satires.

1 Ars Poet. 328.

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in the concrete, life as it might be watched at work in the Via Sacra, or the Suburra, in the Circus, or in the Forum: life as teaching by example, and mirrored in the fortunes of the Roman notables to whom his attention was daily directed as they passed along. Good and evil, success and failure, forethought and folly, miserliness and prodigality, good breeding and vulgarity, were illustrated and exemplified for the boy week by week and year by year, not by associating them with maxims in books, or with lay sermons in his private ear, but with life itself as it was actually being lived in the Rome of that day, and with the patterns that he saw running off its loom.

So passed the five or six years of his early education. Somewhere about his eighteenth year, or perhaps a little later, after studying there under Orbilius, the rod-loving Dr. Busby of his period, a man of some note as a teacher, Horace left the capital to complete his education at Athens in company with the young bloods of the Roman aristocracy. It is only natural to wish that he had told us more about this formative part of his history, but, though Horace in his own way is as self-revealing as Montaigne or as Samuel Pepys, he unfortunately failed to forestall the latter in keeping a full diary of his days. From the tone of affection, however, in which he refers to the university, it may be safely inferred that he most heartily enjoyed the opportunities which Athens afforded. From this time forward we hear no more of his devoted guardian. Probably he had died before his son's schooldays were quite over. Nor have we any information as to how the necessary funds for a university course were raised, seeing that Athens was an expensive place, and the undergraduates from Rome, or at any rate the majority of them, had deep purses, It redounds greatly long, dry throats, and convivial proclivities. to Horace's credit, and prepares us also for the strong fibre of moral independence which runs through all his subsequent career and which is so conspicuous in his relations with Maecenas and with Augustus, that, in such a society, he was able to hold his own, to make many lasting friendships, to avoid debt, and, what proved to be of such vital importance later on, to study the doctrines of the rival schools of Greek philosophy as well as the rich and varied treasures of Greek literature.

Quite an interesting side-light is thrown on the extravagance, and also on the moral pitfalls, of undergraduate life at Athens at this time by what we chance to know of the younger Cicero. He had served as a cavalry officer on Pompey's staff before he went up to matriculate. Of intellectual interests he was wholly devoid. His father seems to have declined to keep a horse for him, though he made him a generous allowance of no less than

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8001. a year. But he had fallen into bad hands. His guide, philosopher and friend, a 'professor' named Gorgias, was one of the lecturers in the Gymnasium. This man turned out to be a debauched scoundrel, and Cicero, whose habits were predominantly of a festive nature, was promptly removed from his demoralising influence.

We have now, perhaps, been able to form some idea of the associations and training which helped to mould young Horace for any future he might have to face. All in a moment there In March B.C. 44 Julius came a great crisis in his fortunes. Caesar was murdered. Some months later Marcus Brutus appeared in Athens. Ostensibly he had come for purposes of study, but his real business there was to hunt up Roman officers for the command of his new levies. The patrician youth of the capital were all aglow to prove themselves worthy emulators of Pericles and Demosthenes, of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. That liberty was long since dead in all but name, they were hardly yet of an age to realise. Attracted no doubt by what he saw in Horace, with whose literary tastes he had much in common, Brutus offered this lad of two-and-twenty, short in inches, inclined to corpulence, ignorant of drill, innocent of the art of war, the high post of military tribune with the command of a legion. The offer was accepted, and the undergraduate blossomed suddenly into what we may picture to ourselves as a Brigadier-General. With our poet's career as an officer in the army we are not here concerned, but it is not without interest to note that it was during Brutus' campaign in Asia, and shortly before the battle of Philippi, that he fired off his first literary squib for the amusement of his brother officers on the staff. This somewhat feeble skit was included in the earliest of his published collections, and forms now the seventh satire of Book I.

The defeat at Philippi sealed the fate of the Republic. It was already consumed with internal decay. In five hundred years the City-state had conquered the world, but it lacked the political capacity to rule it, and to adapt its old time-worn institutions to new and altogether different conditions. During the winter of B.C. 42, and under cover probably of an amnesty extended to those surviving combatants who were ready to make their submission to the Triumvirs, Horace found his way back to Rome.

It was probably during the year B.C. 39 that our poet was introduced by Virgil and Varius to Maecenas. With respect to his life between his return to the capital and this red-letter day in his checkered fortunes we know little except by inference. He tells us that he was so poor that he was driven to make a living by writing verses. What verses they were he leaves us to guess.

From the brief biography of him which is attributed to Suetonius we learn further that he became a 'scribe' in the Quaestor's office, or, to use more modern language, a salaried clerk in the Roman Treasury, and this statement, it may be added, is confirmed in his satires. It is not likely that Horace, the most fastidious of critics, included all the firstlings of his poetic flock in his published collections, but his earliest extant compositions raise two interesting problems. (1) How did an unknown adventurer in Rome attract the notice of the literary magnates whom Maecenas had gathered round his table? And (2) what had Horace been writing to become so unpopular as it is evident that he had in fact become, especially among the Grub Street coteries of Roman society? Let us first briefly note the circumstances in which the defeat at Philippi had placed him.

When Horace found himself again in Rome, the cause in defence of which he had so eagerly joined the Regicide was lost. Victory rested with the three conspirators against the Republic, and their hands were red with the blood of many of his personal friends. The father who with equal wisdom and devotion had piloted him through the perils of youth was no more. The old Venusian home had just been confiscated and sold up. Buried in the grim and depressing solitude of a great city, a disillusioned Pompeian, a soured patriot, a political renegade, he was left without position, without prospects, and without money.

Never, probably, did Horace utter a truer word than when in one of his letters he described himself as 'solibus aptum,' one made for the warm sunshine. The shock of a sudden reverse of fortune, falling upon a constitution at no time very robust, and now somewhat impaired by a campaign on Asiatic soil, seems to have made havoc of his native friendliness and geniality, and to have left him irritable, bitter, resentful, and reckless. Looking back in the epodes and epistles on this dark winter of his discontent, Horace has compared himself to a sleuth-hound running down his quarry, to a bull with threatening horns, to a fierce wolf with hungry fangs. 10 To translate these images into humbler prose, our lampooner was in the very temper for what he calls the swift iambics of Archilochus, the literary vitriol of his trade. The society around him, honeycombed as it was with scandals and personal animosities, offered an attractive field to a ready pen and a mordant wit, and it would seem that he was not slow to seize the opportunity which was thus afforded him.

But the epodes, even the earliest of them, are evidence that if Horace could write personal lampoons he could produce work of a higher grade as well. Compositions, for example, like the seventh or the sixteenth epode could hardly be recited without

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nce that ice work like the without compelling those who listened to them to recognise the great poetical promise of which they gave evidence. At any rate the recitation of some lyric, or lyrics, that he had composed made a favourable impression on no less a personage than Virgil, who may accordingly be said to have discovered Horace in much the same sense that Coleridge discovered Wordsworth.

That Maecenas should have taken as long as nine months to think matters over before he finally decided on taking the young literary recruit under his wing is a fact of some significance. So shrewd a man of affairs, with a recommendation before him from great poetical celebrities such as Virgil and Varius, must have had good reason for his hesitation. It may be that, while they looked only to the poet in Horace, Maecenas looked deeper. Where they saw only talent, he saw a disappointed republican, a lampooner whose bitter personalities were making him many enemies, and the master of a literary weapon which might endanger the all-important cause of peace and order. But it is evident that what most impressed him, and what really determined the day in Horace's favour, was the rare attractiveness of his character on its moral and social side. Be this as it may, we can now discern an answer to our inquiries. Obviously there were already two markedly distinct qualities in Horace's recitations. There was the genuine poetic quality which so attracted Virgil, and in virtue of which the epodes were one day to ripen and mellow into the odes, and there was also the critical and satiric quality which made its early victims so resentful, but which in due time passed out of the Archilochian iambic and became wedded to the dactylic hexameter, a measure which Horace learnt to mould with such wonderful success, and to make a vehicle for the expression both of his social sketches and of his talks with absent friends.

Satire, it should be remembered, is a term suggestive to our English ears of something caustic and severe. We instinctively associate it with invective. It sends our thoughts back to writers like Dryden, Swift, and Carlyle. But this is to travel far away from our Latin satirist.¹¹ The term which Horace himself prefers for the compositions in question is not satires at all, but sermones; that is to say, conversational discourses. In his day political satire was out of the question, and a thing far too dangerous for him to touch. He fell back, therefore, on these 'talks,' or social and moral miscellanies. It was a field for which he felt himself well suited, and a field, too, in which he had no living rival to fear in the race for popularity and fame. These satires, in fact, are just familiar talks to the world in general about social types

¹¹ Satura, in Latin, means a mixture. The term was transferred from the stage, where it denoted variety-performances, to literature.

and incidents in which it would be likely to feel lively interest, and they are full of biographical portraiture, as were the satires of Lucilius. 12 They were intended to give readers the same kind of pleasure that we ourselves derive from a good comedy, a good novel, or a witty article. They present their author to us as in close personal contact with the social life of the day. Mainly in Rome, but occasionally in his new country home Horace is at once an amused spectator, a light-hearted actor in the human drama, and a genial critic of infirmities, follies, and vices, not a few of which become distressingly apparent to him as he turns to glance at his own picture in the glass. So far are these social sketches from being a vehicle for moral indignation, that, as anyone will testify who is familiar with Horace's rich gallery of caricatures, they bubble over with raillery and fun. For it is not by the intrinsic wickedness of vice that their author is moved to mild reproof. It is by its coarse vulgarity, its short-sightedness, its woeful lack of sense. The appeal of the satirist is not to men's consciences, but to the external standard set by honour and 'good form' as embodied in the ideal urbanus or well-bred man of the world. This point of view may not be that of our own day. But we may doubt if it be possible to enjoy Horace quite as he meant to be enjoyed, unless we are content to measure his morality by the Roman standard of his And we do that age no grave injustice when we limit its normal idea of virtue, at any rate in the capital itself, to the exercise of a prudent moderation in vice.

Some five years intervened between the publication of the first ten satires, in about B.C. 35, and of the eight others which succeeded them. The two sets enable us to follow Horace in his literary progress, and they reveal to us an illuminating contrast. In the earlier set the writer is already the publicly recognised friend of Maecenas, whom he had been invited to accompany on his mission to Brundusium, but he has not yet received from him the gift which was to prove the delight and joy of his life, namely, the farm on the Sabine hills. We see him as still a literary aspirant, forging his way amid a host of enemies, rivals, and detractors, whom he is anxious to conciliate and smooth down. Outside his great patron's circle few people seem to have a good word for him. To some he is a malicious lampooner, to others an impudent belittler of his famous forerunner and professed model, Lucilius; to all a slave-born upstart, a literary adventurer who has now by some incomprehensible freak of fortune found or forced his way into the most exclusive house in Rome.

And already there may be seen emerging into light the two sides of Horace's character. He loves good society, and, at the

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same time, he loves solitary meditation. After a light breakfast he lies in his room till past nine reading, writing, thinking. He is master of his own time. He strolls about Rome looking at the shops, asking prices, listening, not without real curiosity and interest, to the quack fortune-tellers of the market-place. He is poor, but not in actual want. He can afford, for example, to humour his fancy for a change of air by jogging off on his bobtailed mule to Tibur or to Tarentum. For the attractions of birth, wealth, place, or title he does not greatly care. The things that he does value are character, moral independence, friendships with prominent men, and sound health. For all vulgar pushing snobs, social limpets, and literary impostors he feels the most profound contempt. Free from the baser vices, and anxious to correct the more venial ones to which he so unreservedly pleads guilty, he is continually taking counsel with himself, reviewing his life, studying books, taking his moral temperature, listening to the 'candid friend,' trying to win the affection and approbation of those whose reputation and standing make their affection and approbation worth the winning.13

In the later set of satires we find that there has been a great advance all along the line. Horace is getting on for five-andthirty. His probationary period is now over. To use a familiar colloquialism, he has 'arrived.' He writes and criticises with a tone of authority, and as one who occupies a recognised literary position. A devout believer in the gospel of facts, he is coming round to a loyal confidence in the head of the State, and even wishes himself an epic poet that he might the more worthily sing Caesar's praises. Always eager to conciliate, he has dropped the personalities of his early style, and has thrown his compositions into a semi-dramatic mould. Years of study-including a study of the great Greek comedians-the sunshine of success, the sense of pecuniary independence, the mellowing and refining influence of surroundings both socially and intellectually congenial, have combined to bring about a great change in him, and have raised to an extraordinary degree the level of his literary art. On the other hand, his increasing intimacy with Maecenas has proved to be in some ways a real and serious hindrance to his work. become a power in Rome, an envied and much-pestered man.14 What with gossip-mongers teasing him for confidential information, sycophants waylaying him for favours, and place-hunters for the use of his growing influence, he can no longer call his soul his own. He has lost all that privacy and leisure which his sensitive nature needed for meditation, study, and composition. patron, Maecenas, appreciating to the full the significance of these vexations, has behaved with his accustomed generosity. Less than

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thirty miles from Rome, on the banks of the Digentia, crowned by Mount Lucretilis, in the heart of the quiet Sabine uplands, and within easy access of his beloved Tibur, he has found for his friend a delightful hermitage, a compact little farm, producing olives, corn and wine, where he can be alone with his books, and with his more sympathetic associates. This welcome refuge was destined to become to the poet what Rydal Mount was to Wordsworth, or what Farringford was to Tennyson. And for the future we shall find Horace combining the rôles of townmouse and country-mouse in one. 15

With the publication of this second book of satires in B.C. 30-29, our poet had risen to a literary position in Rome second only to that occupied by Virgil. A few years more and we shall find him returning once again to his 'discourses.' For, in respect of form, the epistles are only the satires softened down and made more graceful, and more musical in their rhythm, by the formative influence of those Greek masters of the lyre to whom he had been devoting so much time and study. The epistolatory form seems to have been an original device of Horace's later middle-age for keeping in touch with old friends away from Rome, and with the rising stars of literature. To satires and epistles alike he gives the same title, namely 'talks' or conversations.

Between the publication of the satires and of the earlier epistles there intervened a period of several years. A great national work had opened out before him, and, with all the auspices in his favour, he threw into the composition of the first three books of his odes the full strength of his maturing genius and all the joyousness of his mountain home.¹⁶

While our genial satirist had been living as a man-about-town and ministering to the enjoyment of his aristocratic audience, Octavian had been busying himself with the suppression of his rivals in the momentous struggle for supreme power. Bent upon consolidating his grip upon the West, he had confided to Maecenas, his confidential minister, the part of temporary watch-dog in the There remained the Eastern peril, the inevitable collision with Antony. At the time, however, when Horace, in the quiet of the Sabine hills, was setting vigorously to work to become the Laureate of Rome and 'minstrel of the Latin lyre, the battle of Actium and the fall of Alexandria (B.C. 31-30) had brought the long and terrible years of suspense and misery to an end, and there was now a universal yearning for peace and quiet. The dread spectre of Cleopatra, of an Orientalised West with an Egyptian Queen offering incense to Isis on the Capitol, was laid, and laid for ever. The ninth epode, and the thirty-seventh ode

¹⁵ II. Sat. vi. 79.

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of the first book, were written, the one in anticipation and the other in celebration of a victory which had sent a thrill of joy and thankfulness through Italy. At last there seemed to be an end to turbulence and faction and cold-blooded murders. It was with the glow in his veins of the reformation-moral, religious, legal, and aesthetic-which Augustus and Maecenas had long designed, and were now free to inaugurate, that Horace embarked upon his great work. It was Greece which had drawn him long ago from Rome to Athens. It was the early fascination for him of Greek literature which in Athens had, as he tells us, all but made of him a fifth-rate Greek poet. At the meridian of his powers he now returned to his early love. He had learnt to recognise in Augustus a ruler of supreme political genius, and the only possible saviour He was eager, therefore, to play the part which of society. Augustus pressed upon him, and to give a poet's advocacy to his policy. He would be the Alcaeus of Rome. He would be the first to sing lyric odes to her in her own native tongue, and so to handle the intractable ore of the Latin language that it might run freely in the metrical moulds framed by the splendid inspiration of a Sappho, a Pindar, or an Anacreon. The world knows well with what amazing skill he overcame the inherent technical difficulties of his task. But on this great 'monument more imperishable than bronze' we have not now the space to dwell.

The precise date at which the first three books of the odes were published is uncertain. But inasmuch as the first of the epistles, dedicated to Maecenas, indicates a considerable interval between the appearance of the odes and of the collection at whose head it stands, it is safe to assume that Horace devoted, at the very least, some seven years to his lyrical labours. It remains now to indicate briefly the distribution of his later works over the remaining

Our poet was well over forty years of age when Maecenas, to whom he had addressed no fewer than eight of his odes, four of his epodes, and two of his satires, appears to have pressed him to take up poetry once more, and to give the world a fresh series of lyrics. The dedicatory Epistle 17 which introduces the first book is Horace's reply. He must beg off. The years a passing; his mood has changed; his singing days lie behind him. I am putting away poetry, he says, with my other playthings, caetera ludicra, and devoting myself wholly to the study of the principles of moral action. Inspiration and imagination have begun to flag with him. He is feeling weary of the long strain involved in the imitation of Greek models and the wrestling with metrical difficulties. It is time to take life more seriously. He wants not to sing, but to think. Here, as elsewhere, Horace

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may probably be half concealing himself behind the irony which is part and parcel of his nature. 18 It is all very well for him to dismiss his odes as just so much playful trifling. But they include some of his most earnest and loftiest utterances. They had cost him the best and happiest years of his life. He was justly content to base upon them his proud assurance of immortality. Nothing, for example, can be less fanciful or more genuine than are his songs of friendship, or than the noble odes of Book III which have for their theme those moral excellences that had made Rome great in the brave days of old. On the other hand, it is no doubt true that the odes, as a whole, are the offspring of an imaginative inspiration which Horace describes as the spirit of play (ludere). He aims less in them at any deep philosophy of life than at literary loveliness and charm. So frequent is their change of key, so studied the modulation in their arrangement, 'from grave to gay, from lively to severe,' that the one object which their composer seems always to have before him is to catch all humours and to charm them all.

Dipping at random into his earlier lyrics, we find ourselves translated into a kind of fairy paradise of gaiety and unreason. 'Of temper amorous as the first of May,' 'luting and fluting' fantastic tendernesses, our poet hymns in them the praises of Falernian revelry, of rose-wreaths and lovely nymphs, and feasts our senses with all the rich wonderland of Pan.

Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib und Gesang, Der bleibt ein Narr sein Leben lang. 19

But this muse of jollity and frolic is with Horace only one muse among many, and as we read on we become conscious in each of the successive books of his odes of an increasing gravity and dignity, a growing and public-spirited seriousness of purpose, not unmingled even in Book I. with an undertone of sadness. The truth is that the two sides of Horace's emotional temperament, his gaiety and his seriousness, exercise their joint influence over almost all his writings, and any attempt to portion them off into water-tight literary compartments and periods, each labelled with its appropriate date and legend, is apt to lead into a complete misapprehension of him.

To say this, however, is not to say that in his excuses to Maecenas he was deliberately and consciously insincere, for from the outset of his literary career he had never been without his thoughtful and reflective side. When he began to devote himself to lyric poetry he was already a middle-aged man. In the loftiest sense of inspiration he had never been an inspired and spontaneous singer, for his lack of enthusiasm and his unemotional

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temperament were alien to any high poetic passion. Nor was the materialistic age in which he lived one to set a singer's heart on fire, or to kindle in his breast the splendid aspirations of religion, love, or patriotism. Horace knows quite well that the eagle-flights of a Pindar are beyond him. His genius is not creative. He is a highly gifted artist, a busy Matine bee, moulding and fashioning his material by strenuous work. It is not, therefore, surprising that after several years of such work, and hampered by the increasing failure of his health, he should begin to tire of it all, and should be minded to put his lyre away and to go back, with a matured experience of men and things, to those old problems in which, ever since his university days, he had felt an abiding interest—the problems of human life and conduct.

But the Horace of the epistles is still at heart the Horace of the satires. The difference arises from the fact that he is an older man, no longer in the exuberant spirits of past years, riper in thought and feeling, more perfect in literary grace and ease, more kindly, more refined, more persistently purposeful. It is in the epistles that we get the most faithful revelation of Horace himself as distinct from Horace the onlooker and the author; and where else can so pleasing a picture be found? It is in the epistles, too, that we pass beyond a mere external reformation of manners to a call for an inner purification of the heart. This, as Horace saw clearly enough, was what the age so urgently and desperately needed. Rome had been built up on character. 'Moribus antiquis stat res Romana virisque '-thus ran the famous line of Ennius, one of the oldest of her poets. With the degeneration of character had come moral ruin. The old robustness and virility which had marked the great days of the Republic had been undermined by prosperity and self-indulgence. In the renovation of character lay the one hope of her salvation.

But where was the needful moral leverage to be found? Whence was to come the impetus of a new enthusiasm and of a new life? Horace, who, though justly proud of his intellectual gifts, had no great opinion of his strength of character, made a brave show of finding a moral fulcrum in philosophy, in the 'verba et voces' of the best and wisest writers, and in the teaching of life by example. But, when it came to curing himself with his own prescriptions, he makes no pretence of concealing his deep disappointment.²¹ Philosophy might convince the head. It ould neither capture the heart nor brace the vacillating and wayward will. To teach the world that common-sense is on the side of virtue is doubtless very comfortable doctrine for the easy-going man of average morals, but it avails nothing in the hour of

20 IV. Od. ii. 25. 21 I. Ep. viii. and xv. ad finem.

temptation. It is powerless to reclaim the drunkard or to reform the thief. For the real secret of life is neither pleasure, nor the golden mean, nor any form of intellectual or moral equipoise and serenity. but self-surrender and service. The Roman society in which Horace lived so much of his life, about which he wrote, and over which he pondered, was a society on which not even a Savonarola could have made any great permanent impression. Political freedom was dead. The old religious spirit was dead. Oratory was dead also. To one who could look beneath the surface Rome had become a mere gilded cage of restless and aimless discontent. On one side were men of baulked political ambitions, men impatient of restraint and needing the moral opiate of a listless Epicureanism. while on the other side surged a host of newly enriched and pushful snobs; here a miser, there a spendthrift; at the street-corner some Stoic preacher of righteousness, and among his listeners some irredeemable debauchee; everywhere a self-indulgent materialism, a money-mad, superstition-haunted, cruel, uncharitable world: a world of mingled sadness and frivolity, indifference and earnestness, sensuality and satiety, credulity and scepticism: a world empty of hope, weary at heart, sick and loveless. Horace's Rome, and it is in such terms as these that he sums it up:

What has not cankering Time made worse?
Viler than grandsires, sires beget
Ourselves, yet baser, soon to curse
The world with offspring baser yet.²²

The first book of epistles was probably published about B.C. 20, when Horace was some forty-five years of age. The beautiful epistle to his friend Florus, an ambitious young man of letters," seems intended to repeat to the rising generation the determination which, as we have already seen, the poet had recently conveyed to Maecenas. In point of date this epistle follows closely upon Book I. His resolution, however, was destined before long to give way to a pressure which even he could not resist. Some two years later, in B.C. 17, Horace, as Poet Laureate, received Caesar's commands to compose the Carmen Seculare, a religious ode which was to be officially sung at the celebration of the secular games in the capital. It was also under personal pressure from the Emperor that the fourth book of odes was composed, one of its chief objects being to commemorate the victories won by the Emperor's two stepsons, Drusus and Tiberius, in Raetia and Vindelicia (IV. Odes iv. and xiv.).

In the Ars Poetica, the date of which remains uncertain, and also in the Epistle to Augustus (B.C. 13) the writer returns to the subject which had engaged his pen in II. Sat. i.—namely, the

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ain, and s to the ely, the criticism of Latin literature, and offers in addition a few kindly hints to budding authors, full of his inexhaustible good sense, and of his jealousy for the high claims and dignity of Literature. If Suetonius is right the epistle in question must have been written in reply to a somewhat angry remonstrance which Augustus had sent to his laureate, with whom, nevertheless, he lived on the most friendly terms, after reading his newly published volume. 'I am much annoyed with you because in what you write of this kind you address yourself to me. Are you afraid then that intimacy with me will be set down to your discredit in years to come?'

But neither his love for Maecenas nor his respect for his political lord and master could ever induce the poet to abate one jot of his moral independence and liberty. And it redounds greatly to the Emperor's credit that he bore the poet no resentment. This letter to Augustus is very possibly the last one that Horace ever wrote, and with the one to Florus and the Ars Poetica it ranks, in the opinion of a judge so fastidious as Mommsen, as one of the three 'most graceful and delightful works in all Roman riterature.'

With these literary epistles Horace's work as an author was ended. On the 27th of November, B.C. 8, after a sudden and brief illness, he died, and his body was buried in the grounds of the famous Esquiline mansion, near the grave of its lamented owner, his 'dear knight Maecenas.'

The prophecy of the ode addressed by Horace to his patron nearly twenty years earlier had come all but literally true:

Ah, if untimely fate should snatch thee hence, Thee, of my soul a part, Why should I linger on, with deadened sense And ever aching heart, A worthless fragment of a fallen shrine? No, no; one day shall see thy death and mine.

Think not that I have sworn a bootless oath. Yes, we shall go, shall go, Hand linked in hand, whene'er thou leadest, both The last sad road below.

Odes II. xvii. (Martin).

H. W. HAMILTON-HOARE.

THE SUBMERGED SUBALTERN

DURING the autumn of the past year, when discussion was hot on the railway strike question, and on the use of troops in connexion with it, the British officer was described by a leading Labour politician as a representative of the capitalist class. The conceit is delightful. Flashes of humour come so rarely from the quarter where this one was generated that their effect is all the more vivid when they are discharged. The British officer a capitalist! The subaltern, indeed, with whom this paper is concerned, and who was the officer most conspicuous on strike duty, may be said to have some connexion with capital, but if so, it is through the medium of his tailor's bill, or, in bad cases, through the claims of a moneylender. For who is he, and what is his origin? The subalterns have for parents, at the time of their early service, officers, serving or retired, of the Army and Navy, Civil servants, serving or retired, professional men, clergymen, widows in poor circumstances, etc. Occasionally they have no parents, and in quite exceptional instances are the sons of men of means. They are paid at a rate which, if they belonged to a trade union, would very soon cause them to lay down tools and come out, a form of amusement denied to them, and they are saddled with unavoidable expenses which eat up their pay, and leave a margin to be made good by parents and relatives from their own generally narrow resources.

How far this statement is well founded, an examination of the subaltern's monthly budget will show. Taking as postulates (1) that we are dealing with a month of thirty days, and (2) that the officers concerned belong to the infantry, we have the follow-

ing result:

On the credit side we have, according as the officer is a lieutenant or a second lieutenant, 9l. 15s. or 7l. 17s. 6d., which sums represent the monthly pay. On the other side comes, first, the principal item of expenditure, the mess bill. And here it may be observed that every subscription, every regimental bill, and every sum of money collected from an officer at his station must pass through his mess bill, so that it can be generally assumed that there should be helper gen of the begin of the begin of the best which do

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not appear in it. The mess bill is made up of the items which follow, most of which require in turn some little explanation.

First comes the messing charge. Every officer, unless married and allowed to live out of mess, is a dining member, and pays his share of the messing. If he is absent on duty or leave for more than three days, he does not pay during the time of his absence, but otherwise he pays, whether he is present in mess or not. The messing charge, including early tea and afternoon tea, may be taken at 4s. 6d. per diem. It may be more; it is seldom less. It may be observed here that good and sufficient feeding is essential to the development of the young officer. Of recent years attention has been given, rightly and with satisfactory results, to the feeding of the young soldier, in order to build up his frame, to fit him for the severe physical exertion he has to undergo, and to counteract any inclination to excess in drinking or smoking. On exactly the same grounds the subaltern needs similar considera-His messing for the month will, therefore, come to Next come the charges for wine, etc., and for tobacco, in whatever form it is burned, in which is included the provision of these luxuries to private guests. Most young officers are very moderate in such matters, but unless they neither drink nor smoke, they do not escape without running up a small account, especially if there are several guest nights in the month. ordinary wine bill would not be less than 2l. Then follow such charges as extra messing (for guests or for extras obtained from the mess-e.g. after night operations, etc.); mess guests, i.e. those invited in the name of the colonel and officers, generally making a large monthly amount for division; the regulated monthly subscription graduated according to rank; any other mess maintenance subscription which may be customary in the corps; the monthly charge for newspapers and stationery; charges for cards and billiards; subscriptions to recreation funds; any other subscription the officer has put his name down for; charges made against him from the regimental workshops, for postage, etc., and for any other matter for which he has rendered himself liable. A charge of 5s. a month will also be made for hire of mess and barrack-room furniture.

The mess bill, for the subaltern of moderate habits—and nowadays few officers are inclined to be immoderate—and of average disposition as regards economy, will amount to about 11l. 10s. in normal months in which no special subscriptions or charges are included. It is possible for an officer to keep his bill as low as about 8l. 10s. by great self-denial and by abstaining from drink and tobacco in every form, and also by not subscribing to anything not compulsory. It requires much character for a young officer to live in a mess in such circumstances, and

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must d that ich do particularly to maintain his self-denial when he is assisting to entertain mess guests. It may also have a disadvantageous effect on his prospects in the Service if he does not join in sports, etc., with other officers. Anyhow, it is not very often that an officer so self-controlled is found amongst the young subalterns.

But, having paid his mess bill, whether it is 11l. 10s. or 8l. 10s., (and there is no escaping the payment, which must be made by the fifth of the succeeding month), the young officer has still some regular monthly charges to meet. His servant is by regulation entitled to 10s. Most officers give more than that amount; but let us assume the charge to be that allowed. Then come washing, 1l., servant's account for various sums spent during the month, say, 10s., and servant's plain clothes and livery, averaging a charge of 10s. per mensem. These items make a total of 2l. 10s., and with the mess bill we have accounted for a sum of 11l. in the case of the abstaining officer, and 14l. in that of the average subaltern. Comparing the expenditure with the credits shown above of 9l. 15s. or 7l. 17s. 6d., we find that the second lieutenant is already from 3l. 2s. 6d. to 6l. 2s. 6d., and the lieutenant from 1l. 5s. to 4l. 5s., to the bad on his month's pay.

Considering now his finances on an annual basis, and leaving out the small difference, disadvantageous to the officer, of accounting for thirty-one-day months, we find that in the year the abstemious second lieutenant is 37l. 10s. to the bad, the lieutenant 151., whilst the average second lieutenant's deficiency is 731. 10s. and the lieutenant's 51l. In arriving at this estimate I have endeavoured to be strictly fair, and not to put any fancy value on any of the items mentioned. On the other hand, the reader must understand that the figures represent normal expenditure, and that within the year it is safe to assume that one or two months will be abnormal, by which term a considerable increase in charges must be understood. Thus a regimental entertainment (a dance, 'at home,' or sports) will increase materially the monthly charge, as also will manœuvres, camps, division and brigade training, when extra expenses are thrown on the mess in the form of transport of food and of collecting it in new areas. There are also certain charges in the form of subscriptions to regimental charities, to military charities generally, to bazaars and entertainments in aid of military charitable undertakings, which occur at certain seasons of the year and are outside of the normal mess bills.

It is plain from the foregoing figures that a subaltern at home cannot live on his pay, and, indeed, that is generally understood. Practically all subalterns are in receipt of an allowance from their parents or guardians, and 100l. per annum may be regarded as the sum most confusion by given understood. Have some con-

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off pe ho siderable number, it is to be feared, have to strive to make two widely separated ends meet on less. Taking 100l. per annum as the average allowance, and applying that sum to the adverse balance brought down by our calculations above, we find that a second lieutenant is left with from 26l. 10s. to 62l. 10s., and a lieutenant with 49l. to 85l., after defraying his current monthly expenses. With this balance the subaltern must provide for not only the extra charges in abnormal months, but also all such matters as plain clothes, uniform, boots, underclothing, travelling, sports and entertainments (other than those provided for through the mess), and all the many items on account of which an officer's hand has to seek his pocket or his cheque-book. regards clothing, a subaltern's duties are very hard upon uniform and boots. Marching, bivouacking, and camping are responsible for the wear and destruction of all articles of clothing and equipment, as well as of underclothing, and the annual training lays on every officer a material burden of expense. Officers, moreover, are expected to be well dressed, both in uniform and in plain clothes, and tailoring will be found to run away with the greater part of their available margin. It is needless to enlarge upon the calls which are made upon the small balance left. They come from every direction with an insistence which is irresistible, and before the officer has time to realise it, he finds himself under water. It should be observed that the balance remaining to an officer, after liquidating current charges, will in the vast majority of cases approximate to the lower of the sums mentioned before; for to obtain the higher margin he must practically sever himself from all the amusements and recreations of his companions, and must, moreover, risk injury to his regimental and service prospects. The subaltern has so far been assumed to belong to a line

regiment. There are, however, certain infantry regiments of a select or special character in which the expenses are considerably higher than in the average regiment. In such corps the allowances to officers must be correspondingly greater, and the net result is probably the same, an equivalent amount being added to each side of the account. In the cavalry the expenses are great, and can only be faced by those who can expect a large The artillery and engineers, on the other hand, are mostly distributed in small messes, and, contrary to all theory, the actual messing charges in small messes are generally distinctly less than in large messes, whilst the entertaining and other subscriptions are on a much lower scale. Where, however, officers of artillery and engineers are in large messes the expenses are much the same as in the line messes. The officers, however, of the engineers and of the garrison artillery are In Public Bomain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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home tood. their ed as conbetter paid than infantry officers, though probably their allowances are less. The field-artillery subaltern is only slightly better paid than his infantry brother, and he has some considerable additional expense thrown on him on account of being mounted, and having to pay and clothe a groom.

It would be easy to enlarge upon the calls made upon officers in general, but enough has been said to make it clear that the average subaltern with an allowance of 100l. per annum, after he has met the claims which are compulsory, as well as those from which in practice he cannot escape, is left with, if any balance at all, one microscopically small; and that his position is very much worse than that of the private soldier, who, with proficiency pay, can count on receiving from 5s. to 10s. a week after all his expenses are paid. The officer, indeed, if of Spartan habits, may keep his head above water, but the ordinary subaltern, lively, active, untrained in habits of abstention, unaccustomed to manage a narrow income, is only too likely to fall, and, in fact, does almost consistently fall into a position from which escape is difficult and often impossible.

The subalterns of the Army serving at home and in the

Mediterranean may be divided into three classes:

(1) Those with their heads above water in all weather.

(2) Those with their noses above water in calm weather, but from time to time washed by any passing storm, coming up again when the surface is calm, spluttering and exhausted.

(3) Those hopelessly immersed and beyond resuscitation from

any efforts of their own.

Any attempt to assign the proportion of officers serving to each of these classes would obviously be the merest guesswork, and it is only as guesswork that I estimate that over 75 per cent. of the subalterns will be found in classes (2) and (3), and that of those in class (2) a large number require only a little extra heavy weather to qualify them for transfer to class (3); whilst every one in class (2), unless obtaining relief in one or other direction, must eventually pass to class (3). If this estimate has any claim to be even approximately correct, there must be some evidence of the state of affairs. An officer cannot remain below water in his finances without giving some indication. His liabilities must set him in motion in one direction or another. And, in effect, they do move him. There is a constant flowing tide carrying the young officers of the Army away from their corps at home. Some, the more fortunate ones, get appointments at home, in the Colonies, in the Egyptian Army or elsewhere; some go to their foreign units; many take a tour to the West Coast of Africa, that Alsatia of capitalists with ankadvagse dada, Asidwar go to the East Coast; some to other parts of the world; and some leave hom und stra mer of t pape to s qua he i Brit

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their corps for good, to start life afresh in the Colonies or at home with little equipment, material or mental, for their new undertaking; whilst a remnant disappear altogether into a lower stratum of society. The public are ignorant of this great movement, which never comes before their notice except in the case of those gazetted out of the Service. When they read in the papers that Lieutenant Blank has been selected for appointment to some distinguished African corps, they are ignorant of the qualifications which have gained him that distinction, and that he is seeking the regions of the tropics not because he finds the British Isles too cold for him, but for exactly the opposite reason.

No doubt the greater number of the officers who thus migrate from their corps at home and in the Mediterranean are not lost to the Service, and probably return some day to the fold they have left. But they are removed for the time from the most important part of the regular army, the expeditionary force; if they return it is probably with discontented spirits and with lowered health, and, on the whole, the country is undoubtedly a loser through the misfortunes of its youngest servants. And it would be the greatest mistake to regard them as criminals or wasters, or men of no parts. They represent generally the activity, the high spirits, the initiative which go to make the best qualities in an officer. They have passed out of bounds because their environment has been found too narrow. Surely they are worth saving.

But from what direction is salvation to come? No remedies which are within reach will make the subaltern's position impregnable. The influences which affect an officer's attitude towards questions of expenditure lie too deep-rooted in regimental tradition, regimental customs and in the circumstances of his daily life to be brought under control by ordinary methods. It has been shown, for example, that an officer, if a rigid abstainer, and if he takes no part in voluntary subscriptions or in recreations. can live on his pay and a moderate allowance. Is the country prepared to see the subaltern, as we now know him, converted into such an ascetic, and if this conversion were possible, would the Service be benefited by it? It is, however, mere waste of time to contemplate a reform which it would take something like a miracle to effect. A solution of the expense question in this

direction is neither possible nor is it to be desired.

The revision of the pay of the junior regimental officers is a subject upon which a vast expenditure of ink and paper has been incurred for years past without producing any result. And yet no one denies that the subaltern is inadequately paid. receives is not only no living wage; it is not a living wage when supplemented by such allowance as can be called reasonable.

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Within the last hundred years everything has changed for him except his rate of pay. He is no longer the man of means and of leisure that he was in purchase days, and when the Army was much smaller. His expenses have increased, as well as his work and responsibilities, and at the same time the ability of parents and guardians to make large allowances has disappeared. In some way or other an improvement in the conditions of service as affecting his financial position is imperative. There is absolutely nothing to be urged against it except the cost to the country. That argument had some force when there were from five to ten candidates for every commission offered, but to-day when there is rarely more than one candidate forthcoming for every commission, and when boys have been admitted to cadetships even for the artillery and engineers without examination and without selection, it falls to the ground. A decade ago, when this matter was much before the public, some steps were taken to reduce the subaltern's expenses. He was relieved of band subscriptions, his uniform was simplified, and some of his adornments were removed (not altogether to his satisfaction nor to the benefit of his pocket), and in other ways attempts were made to curtail expenditure in messes. On the whole he benefited by the alterations carried out, but the net reduction of expenditure was small. Some of the salutary measures adopted then have gradually fallen into disuse; some have been outmanœuvred by strategical means easy of application to any regulation, and, in general, regimental expenses have recovered from the temporary check they experienced ten years ago. When the number of vacancies in the commissioned ranks exceeds the number of candidates for the Army, this question of the subaltern's expenses must seriously, if it is not touched till handled schemes, no doubt, for helping the officer out great cost to the State will be considered. Office might, for example, copy the Admiralty, and make an allowance to subalterns on account of messing, as, I believe, is done in certain naval messes on shore. A subaltern might have such an allowance as would reduce his actual messing charge to 2s. per diem. This would diminish the mess bill by 3l. to 31. 15s. in a thirty-day month, and would be a great help to the young officer. It would at the same time add no very heavy burden to the estimates, more particularly if some experts were commissioned to examine the charges for messing in all officers' messes, and to report how far value for the money expended was obtained. It is quite probable that with expert supervision the messing might be vastly improved with advantage to officers' pockets, or, in this case, to the coffers of the State. Such a concession to office Ps by present sug ky ky graff collection faith daif proffered at a time when candidates were not forthcoming it might probably be regarded as inadequate, and a considerable increase in pay might then be the only means of stopping the gap.

But whatever means may be adopted, now or in the future, to better the subaltern's position, money alone, let it be granted in what form it may, will never rescue him from the difficulties which are at present the means of driving him from the ranks of the home army. Whatever sum may be added to his emoluments, it will be swallowed up at once by the innumerable harpies that swarm round every garrison town, into whose hands regimental tradition is only too ready to play. These harpies, it is true, deal in wares for the most part innocent and even desirable, but they come in such numbers as to produce an effect that is overwhelm-The young officer nowadays is fortunately no idle man. His duties keep him well occupied. But he has some spare time, and during that time every form of recreation, sport, and entertainment is not only offered to him, but is practically forced down his throat at the point of the bayonet. It is much to be desired that officers, to whom physical prowess is an important qualification, should be proficient in outdoor sports and recreations; but when they are encouraged to join in cricket, lawn tennis, hockey, football, racquets, squash, as well as to hunt, shoot, and fish, it is obvious that a serious attack on their finances will be the result. It is true that all these recreations and sports can be enjoyed by an officer, by means of regimental subscriptions, at a much less cost than by civilians; but therein lies a danger. They are so advantageously placed before him that he feels it is throwing away money not to make use of his opportunities. And the outfit alone probably eats up more than the remnants of his allowance.

Again, an officer is a victim to subscriptions in a way that is quite unknown to members of other professions, and all in aid of good and deserving objects. There are subscriptions to regimental charities and institutions, to the numerous great military charities, to special objects of general or local interest, and to others too numerous to detail. A mess is rarely without a subscription list of some sort. Those interested in charities and public objects of subscription regard it as a specially desirable orchard to rob. Subscriptions are collected without any trouble, and if they can only get the commanding officer to put some pressure on the subordinates, or even to head the subscription list himself, everything will go right. The fate of the subaltern is indifferent to them so long as they get their own interest benefited.

In the way of social intercourse and entertainment much is demanded of the subaltern. Every garrison is a centre of attraction, which draws to itself all the floating population not definitely

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a conered at ably be tied to other localities. No doubt the positive electricity gene. rated by large concentrations of young men produces by induction an equivalent amount of negative electricity in female form in the immediate neighbourhood. At any rate, whatever the cause. the facts are plain. And where large numbers of residents are found, as in practically all garrison towns, the regimental mess is not unnaturally regarded as the centre round which all social functions revolve. Residents quite frankly believe that officers' messes are sent into their towns with the object of making an agreeable diversion for their benefit, and if this duty is neglected. it is obvious that the most important interests of the State are suffering. From the officers' point of view it would be churlish. unnatural, and, indeed, unwise to ignore all the offers of social intercourse and entertainment open to them. But here, again, come in calls on their pockets.

Lastly may be mentioned, among other expenses, that a subaltern may have a London club to subscribe to, and also that he may be a member of one or more of those most important institutions, the Royal United Service, the R.A., the R.E., the Royal Geographical Society, etc., all of which are of great value to him professionally; and that he will probably be expected to attend

his annual regimental dinner in London.

Anyone considering this table of expenditure, which is by no means exhaustive, will understand how necessary it is that the young officer should be saved, not only from his friends, but also from himself, and at the same time how difficult it is to encompass his rescue. It will be clear also that a mere addition to his

pay will effect little.

It will probably be argued that all subscriptions, except the one regulation mess subscription, all entertainments, and all games and sports are purely voluntary, and that the subaltern need not put his hand in his pocket for any of them. It is quite true that all these matters are voluntary. So is the march of the condemned criminal from his cell to the gallows voluntary. He knows what the public expect of him, and he does it. And in all matters involving expense the subaltern does what is expected of him, knowing full well that to be singular or to oppose by his action anything supported by senior officers is not only to make himself uncomfortable, but further to injure his prospects in his regiment.

If we assume that a subaltern has received such an addition to his pay as to make it possible for him to live on it when supplemented by a moderate allowance, then the first and most important requirement to keep him afloat is the active support and supervision of his commanding officer. Without such assistance his prospects are gloomy. The young officer joins his reg

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ment with no experience of the management of an income and with unbounded faith in its power to give him all that he wants. If he is not guided and checked he very early finds the water over his head. Commanding officers are men whose duties occupy fully their time, and who have little of it available for examining the mess accounts. But they cannot evade their responsibility for the future of the younger officers, towards whom they stand in loco parentis. It is hardly possible for any officer to get into difficulties without giving plenty of warning through his mess accounts; and it is very uncommon for an officer with a very moderate mess bill to be incurring serious liabilities outside. But even if that were the case, his action would not escape observation, if he were under the supervision of the commanding officer. When, as not uncommonly happens, a subaltern is brought up before his brigadier or division commander for reproof on account of his financial errors, and is regarded with black looks and harangued with severe words, he is generally only suffering for the neglect of his seniors, on whom the blame should really rest. If an officer who has been carefully supervised by his colonel, and subjected to all the checks which that officer has it within his power to apply, nevertheless gets himself involved in financial difficulties, then his case is indeed a bad one, and he is without the pale of those on account of whom this paper is written. The powers of the colonel in controlling young officers and in setting a good tone are very great, and when well exercised are quite equal to stopping any undue extravagance in his corps. There are colonels in the Service who fully recognise their responsibility towards the young officers, and who set a definite limit to the amount they are allowed to spend in the mess, particularly on luxuries, and at the same time encourage them to spend what they can afford in outdoor sports. In corps thus commanded the officer's lot is a happy one. He is brought up from the first in habits of economy, and he acquires a knowledge of how to manage his income which will help him throughout his career. It is perhaps as well that parents and guardians have no means of finding out the existence of these corps, or their commanding officers would be mobbed by those with sons and wards about to be commissioned. But they do exist, and in them there is no leakage produced by debt.

If this, by far the most important condition for the promotion of economy amongst subalterns, can be satisfied, a further help may be obtained through the systemization of all the irregular charges levied upon them in their mess bills, their subscriptions, sports, entertainments, etc. It has been observed that what the subaltern has to fear is heavy weather in the form of unexpected charges public bordain. Gudukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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more or less regularity, yet the sanguine young officer does not look forward to them, and when they present themselves in bulk he is in danger of finding the water over The object should be by a regular monthly contribution to cover every form of expenditure which may be called for, so that at no time should the mess bill contain any charge in, so to speak, capital form. Taking first the subscriptions: all regimental and general military charities, which are very numerous and in many respects overlap each other, are in urgent need of co-ordination. In one or more commands a definite sum is contributed annually to the general military charities by the regimental institutes of each corps, and supplemented by officers' subscriptions. If this course were adopted by agreement throughout the Service, a very small monthly contribution would cover the subaltern's share. Another very small sum would provide for the regimental charities; and for any other subscription for local or special objects, and to find money for any purpose calling in ordinary course for contributions from officers, a third fund should be raised. The total sum under the heading of subscriptions should be graduated according to rank, and the subaltern's share would be covered by a very small monthly charge. charge would, of course, be voluntary, and any officer not subscribing would, if he wished to support any particular object, have to do so independently.

After subscriptions come entertainments, and the charges connected with them. A dance or other large undertaking generally hits the subaltern hard, because it comes in one charge. If, however, a monthly subscription, graduated according to rank, were charged, entertainments could be provided for without any special call being made; in fact, entertainments on a large scale should only be allowed when the accumulated funds were sufficient to cover the cost. The subscription in the case of subalterns would not amount to more than two or three shillings a month. Officers not wishing to subscribe, if they took part in any entertainment, would pay their share in one sum.

Lastly come the subscriptions to recreations and sports. They would naturally be divided into two, or perhaps more, parts, one dealing with all the ordinary forms of recreation—cricket, football, hockey, lawn tennis, golf, racquets, etc., and affording officers the entrée to, and the right to play on, the grounds available; and the others with hunting, shooting, and any other sport available. Separate funds would be created for each form of sport, so that officers could subscribe to any one of them; but for the games one fund would probably cover all, except games of a more expensive nature, as polo, which should be worked by separate funds. Subscriptions to sports and recreations would not be

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be voluntary. The effect of dealing with the three great heads of a subaltern's expenditure in the way suggested would be that the average mess bill would be much lower than it now is, that it would be practically unvarying month by month, and that the officer would very soon know what he could afford to take up and what he must cut out. If, at the same time, commanding officers exercised pressure on their subalterns to keep down every item in the way of luxury, and everything unnecessary, and to devote their available funds to such matters as were likely to improve their physical efficiency and their qualifications as officers, the mess bills would be still more moderate. The subscriptions under the three headings discussed would in all amount to a very small total, and if the subaltern were encouraged by his colonel to take only those

But, I repeat once more, the important condition in all aspects of the question is the attitude of the commanding officer. If he is really interested in the matter his influence will be sufficient to ensure the success of the arrangements proposed, or of any others which may be thought better. He will soon instil into the budding officer a tone and a habit of mind towards these matters which will take root in his corps and catch all the officers, who are very quick to follow a lead, in its grip. his active and sympathetic support no scheme can be successful.

he could afford he would probably hardly feel the monthly cost.

One difficulty remains to be considered. There are in many regiments one, or perhaps more, subalterns of considerable means, or who at least live as if they had no need to be anxious about their finances. Now, an officer living at a much higher rate than that which the others can afford is a great danger to his comrades, and in particular to the young subalterns. For the sake of the general good, it is absolutely necessary that one who can afford to do so should not spend in the mess, or in association with other officers, more than the average which they can afford; and a colonel is not only justified in insisting upon a subaltern so circumstanced limiting his mess bill, but it is his plain duty, in the interests of his officers, to do so. If an officer cannot so far control his expenditure as to comply with such restrictions, for But there are everyone's sake it is best that he should leave. many officers who have sufficient public spirit to subordinate their own inclinations to the general good of their corps, and when they appreciate the reasons for controlling their expenditure, they will, for the sake of serving in a distinguished regiment, deny themselves much to their own benefit. This, again, is a matter for the commanding officer, calling for such tact and leading as he can display.

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These proposals for dealing with what is a serious evil may seem, and indeed are, trivial. But it must be remembered that the subaltern finds the water coming over his head in the first instance through trivial causes, which, if not attended to, even tually submerge him past recovery. And it is a matter of experience that where these trivial matters are attended to, as is the case in certain corps, the subalterns escape the fate which is that of so many. It is better to deal with evil by small measures at its source than to contrive large schemes for meeting it when it has taken charge. J. K. TROTTER

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SECTARIAN UNIVERSITIES IN INDIA

An interesting and most remarkable movement has been started in India for the foundation of Hindu and Muhammadan Univer-The Muhammadans have eagerly taken up the idea of raising their college at Aligarh into a university. This college has been one of the most successful educational institutions in India, and has turned out some exceedingly useful men. I had myself, when in charge of the Central Provinces, opportunities of judging of the excellent character of some of the men produced Especially in the time of the great at the Aligarh College. famine at the end of last century, I had experience of the high character, sound training, and loyal devotion to duty which characterised the men who volunteered and were specially selected for famine work. At the same time, I cannot help feeling some regret at the proposal to form the College into a university, because this will separate it from the general educational system of the country, and tend to give it a sectarian character. There is no objection to having another good University: the objection is to its being sectarian. If the measure succeeds, and the university exercises control over a system of affiliated institutions, we cannot fail to have a narrower outlook for Muhammadan education than its best friends have hitherto endeavoured to give it.

Meantime the Hindus also have started a scheme for the foundation of a Hindu university in Benares. The objection to this is precisely the same as in the other case. There was a proposal many years ago to establish a Christian university; but it was abandoned. The principal reasons which influenced most men against the proposal were, that it was not desirable either to take students away from their own provincial surroundings and put them into a university, the whole environment of which was foreign, or to separate them in their conception of education from all those who differed with them on the subject of religion.

To have provincial universities is sound enough, but to have an Indian university seemed undesirable. It must be remembered that the provinces of India, though held together by the British Government, differ amongst themselves as much as the countries of Europe; and an Indian generally lives his life in his own province. It is surely desirable to train men in the locality CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukuldkangri Collection, Haridwar

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where they are to take their place in the battle of life and in the work of the world. It is neither reasonable to expect, nor is it desirable, that the student from Madras or from Bengal should go to Benares or Aligarh for a university education; and the proposal to establish a Christian university in one particular city of India was rejected for the same reason.

Another weighty argument against the proposal was that the life of the university ought not to be sectarian. It was held to be undesirable to educate in a narrow and exclusive atmosphere men who were intended to take an important place in life alongside of their fellow-countrymen. Many who had the strongest belief in the importance of religious education opposed the scheme for a Christian university on the ground that it was wrong to lead Christians to regard themselves as separate, in respect of the great interests of life, from those of other religions with whom and amongst whom they had to do their work. On the other hand, it was also considered most important to have the influence of Christianity maintained in relation to all classes of the people. It was a true-hearted faith in the worthiness of the creed that led men to reject the proposal that those already influenced by it should be segregated for education from, and prevented from meeting in their university life with, those who profess other creeds. The separatist policy was disapproved.

I do not myself believe in the wisdom of founding these sectarian institutions. By the time a man comes to university life he must know, and ought to know, something of the differences of religious belief that exist in his world, and ought at least then to begin an intelligent examination of the grounds of his own Influences should undoubtedly be brought to bear upon him to maintain his religious faith and life; but it is a narrow system, and one which tends not to strength but to weakness, to segregate the young people of one religion and teach them apart It is what one might expect from a timorous and shortsighted

sectarianism.

It is, therefore, somewhat striking to see that the proposals to establish these Hindu and Muhammadan universities have been the occasion of a remarkable interchange of courtesies between the leaders on both sides. The Aga Khan, generally accepted as the Indian Muhammadan leader, telegraphed w the Maharajah Bahadur of Darbhanga congratulating him on the success which has attended the agitation in favour of a Hind His Highness offered the Maharajah a donation of five thousand rupees to the scheme, and wished it success. Maharajah, who is the great leader of orthodox Hindus and the head of the movement for the Hindu university, intimated in the name of the Hindu community their thankful acceptance of this d in the nor is it should the procity of

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proposali ies have ourtesies generally phed to m on the a Hindu nation of The ess. s and the ted in the ce of this generous donation. He presented twenty thousand rupees as his own contribution 'to the cause of Muhammadan education,' and concluded with these words: 'Let us, both Hindus and Muhammadans, pray to God that we remain united with each other, steadfast too in our loyalty to our gracious sovereign, ever zealous in the cause of education, ever faithful to the respective creeds of our great ancestors.' To this the Aga Khan replied, 'I most sincerely and gratefully thank you for your generous donation. My greatest ambition is to see Hindus and Muslims love each other, and each help the faith of the other.'

Hinduism has always maintained a position of isolation in regard to other creeds. It has never been a proselytising creed; for Hinduism is a matter of birth or hereditary position. It is true that a tribe as a whole may be accepted into Hinduism, occupying the position of a low caste within that system; but no individual can enter into any caste except by birth and hereditary Muhammadanism, on the other hand, has always been recognised as a proselytising creed; and the correspondence above referred to cannot but be a matter of considerable surprise. is no doubt whatever that the cordial co-operation it indicates is due to the strong feeling that exists among both Hindus and Muhammadans that purely secular education has been a very serious injury to the life of the rising generation in India. There is an earnest desire for religious education, which has found its expression in this demand for sectarian universities.

The religious college, though it also may be called in a sense sectarian, is not objectionable in the same way as the religious university; because, after all, it is the university that regulates the education; and while the sectarian college will bring its own religious influences to bear upon the students, it will still preserve the realisation of the fact that they have to enter into life in competition with, and have to study alongside of, students of other faiths. The breadth of the education is in this way secured. To establish a sectarian university will be a retrograde measure; and if that sectarian university aims at controlling the education of the adherents of its own creed throughout India, the result may well be expected to be disastrous to progress. It must tend to maintain narrowness of view, intolerance of character and religious antipathies.

The important point is that the university controls education in affiliated institutions. It maintains the standard of secular education. It stamps with its imprimatur what is good and successful in secular education. At the same time there is nothing in the constitution of the university system that necessarily prevents the training of students in morality and religion. principles laid down by Government are in this respect perfectly

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sound; but I believe that the demand for these sectarian universities has arisen from our failure in practice to deal effectively with the religious and moral training of the students. I do not think that the demand would ever have arisen had religious education not been so much handicapped, and in many cases rendered impossible, under the Government system of higher education as worked out in practice.

The Government system has failed, not because of its own defect, but because of defects in its application and administration. I suppose that there is no one in any country who does not realise that departmentalism can frustrate any policy if it is permitted uncontrolled to work out its own methods, and to obstruct anything that it does not accept as in accordance with its interests. This has been deplorably exemplified in the educational system of India. The Government policy has been one thing; but the departmental application of it has been far too much permitted to be something quite different. The policy laid down by the Despatch of 1854 was that Government should be entirely neutral in the matter of religion, but should assist with liberal grants-inaid every sound educational institution without taking into account for the purposes of the grant any religious instruction given. It was a sound and suitable policy for India. Effective inspection was relied on to maintain the efficiency of these private institutions; but the inspectors were directed not to interfere with the religious instruction, not to give any grant in respect of it, and not to reduce any grant earned by secular education on account of the existence of religious instruction. The Government of India and local governments were directed to do their utmost to maintain and extend private effort in accordance with this system, and not to enter into competition with, or in any way discourage or obstruct, private institutions.

This policy was necessary, and was prescribed, on two grounds. The first is that the finances of India are inadequate to deal with the educational requirements without assistance from private liberality. I need not dwell on this here. The other is that the religious difficulty cannot otherwise be met. This policy has been again and again declared by the Government of India; and in Lord Curzon's resolution of 1904 it was anew emphasised. That resolution says: 'The progressive devolution of primary, secondary and collegiate education upon private enterprise, and the continuous withdrawal of Government from competition therewith, were recommended by the Education Commission in 1883; and the advice has been generally acted upon. But while accepting this policy, the Government at the same time recognise the extreme importance of the principle that in each branch of education Government should maintain a limited number of institutions

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both as models for private enterprise to follow, and in order to uphold a high standard of education. In withdrawing from direct management, it is further essential that Government should retain a general control by means of efficient inspection over all public educational institutions.'

This is precisely the policy laid down in 1854. If it had been fully maintained, there is no doubt that the divorce of education from religion, which is now so bitterly complained of by Hindus and Muhammadans, as well as by Christians, would not have been so complete. It is often difficult for departmental officers to give full and generous recognition to the work done by agencies other than their own; and too little pressure has been brought to bear upon the Education Department to carry out fully the policy of the Government. It was the hope of many that this defect would be remedied by the appointment of a member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy in charge of education. This hope is not yet realised. There is at the present time, in certain quarters, a tendency all the other way. The Government of Madras have taken up the position that the 'limited number of institutions' to be maintained by Government means at least one for each district. They are, therefore, increasing the Government schools. Nowhere is this policy less called for than in Madras, where private effort has done more for education than perhaps in any other The announcement of this intention has called forth earnest protests on behalf of many of those most interested in education in that Presidency. The non-official members of the Governor's Council have strongly protested against the change of policy, and secured from the Government a reluctant promise that no steps will be taken towards carrying it out until it has been submitted to the Member for Education in the Government of India.

The special fostering of Government institutions in India is particularly injurious to the interests of religion, which have now come to be regarded by people of all classes as of great importance. The feudatory chiefs and the great Muhammadan and Hindu associations, no less than Christians, have all combined to urge upon the Government of India the necessity for religious education. But it has been held to be impossible to provide religious education in Government institutions; and to seek to confine education mainly to them and so perpetuate a system of education which excludes religious instruction will be not only, in the opinion of most people, disastrous to the moral training and character of the rising generation, but will also be contrary to the wishes of the peoples of India themselves of all creeds and races. It is this strong sentiment in favour of religious education that has united Hindus and Muhammadans in their demand for sectarian univer-

I sympathise with them; but I believe that they are not seeking the true remedy.

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Let me endeavour to look at the proposal to establish a Hindu university from the Hindu point of view. This does not commit me to approval of the scheme: many Hindus oppose it. It is natural that the Brahmos, though they do not desire to be regarded as non-Hindus, should oppose a scheme, the main object of which seems to them to be to maintain those features of Hinduism which they have repudiated; and the principal Brahmo organ of Calcutta has pronounced against the scheme, as retrograde in character. Opposition is not confined, however, to such as these. meetings have been held, attended by orthodox Hindus, at which the proposal has been condemned. A typical resolution may be quoted: 'That this meeting is of opinion that the proposed Hindu university is not desirable in the best interests of the Indian people, as it is calculated to retard the national progress and to emphasise the present distinctions of caste.' This is the view of many influential Hindus, who believe in religious education and wish to arrange for it, but feel the necessity for a wider educational outlook than Hindu tradition and practice in themselves afford.

Some of the supporters of the scheme appeal to the patriotic and religious sentiment of the Hindus by proclaiming that they are restoring the old Indian system. But this is only to mislead. The old Tols Mutts and Sangams, in which the sacred writings and religion of the Hindus were taught, were no more like the modern university than were the monasteries of the middle ages. These Hindu institutions still exist, and can be visited with deep They are certainly not at all like what the promoters of the present scheme desire, 'a Hindu university on modern lines.' It is true that we hardly know definitely the place that the Hindu religion is to have in the curriculum of the proposed university. Only one person of authority has said anything definite on the subject. He is the secretary of the Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, the great society for the maintenance and propagation of orthodox Hinduism. Of this society the president is the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, the wealthiest and most influential of the promoters of the proposed university. tary, in a letter to the Hindu of the 4th of December last, laid down certain general propositions regarding that university. Among these the following is significant: 'The faculty of Theology—the religious department of the university—should, of course, be under the control of Varnashrami Hindus.' say, it should be controlled by those who desire to perpetuate the order and caste system of Hinduism.

If this is merely a description of a faculty separated from the rest of the life of the university, it may be regrettable, but need are not

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not be disastrous to the influence of the progressive schools of Hindu thought. But if it is only such a faculty that is wanted, there is no necessity for a Hindu university. In Scotland we have four universities, every one of which has a faculty of theology, which in every case is Presbyterian. But the universities are not Presbyterian: they are not even Christian, in the sense of requiring the profession of Christianity, by tests or otherwise, from either professors or students. More than this, these universities do not even require attendance at the classes of this faculty for the sake of a degree in theology: other theological colleges are recognised for this purpose. A new university is not required merely for the sake of teaching theology; and if unnecessary it is undesirable. Let the student have the inestimable advantage of the broadening influence of university life; and let him have his specialised teaching in theology in another college, without sacrificing his religious convictions and beliefs.

I do not believe, however, that it is specialised theological education that is the real object of the great mass of the promoters of this scheme: the proposal has originated in the deep and widespread anxiety for religious education generally. Serious evils, predicted by a few thoughtful men long ago, and undoubtedly present to the minds of the great statesmen who framed the Educational Despatch of 1854, are now attributed on all hands to the neglect of religious teaching. When Lord Minto, as Viceroy, was touring among the native States, he received addresses from Indian chiefs describing 'the absence of religious instruction in the schools as a potent cause of wrong ideas.' The Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal also petitioned his Excellency 'to help us in our efforts to guide the awakening life of the Hindus throughout India by means of a spiritual religious education.' These representations, or such as they, have been made by men of all races and creeds; and they lie at the bottom of this demand for sectarian universities. I sympathise with this view, but I earnestly believe that the plan adopted will not produce the desired result.

Only just the other day (24th of January 1912) a public meeting was held in Calcutta to promote this scheme of a Hindu university. The young Maharajah of Bikaner made a fine statement of his views on the subject. This young prince is a great athlete and sportsman, and has been well educated. He has a high reputation as a ruler, has rendered specially distinguished services to the Crown, and has received many marks of the royal recognition of his services both to the Government and to the peoples of India. He has exercised full ruling powers over his State since he was invested with them at the age of eighteen, in 1898, and has manifested a sympathetic and broad spirit. His breadth of view led him at Calcutta to insist that there is no inten-

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tion on the part of the promoters of the Hindu university to emphasise or perpetuate differences, but rather that 'both Musulmans and Hindus well recognise the common humanity which unites them and the common goal to which they are striving by different paths.' This is not the kind of language which one expects from a man who is advocating the establishment of a sectarian university; and it is scarcely to be hoped that the attainment of the latter object will tend to secure the fulfilment of his aspirations.

He went on to say that 'it is important to remember that both the Muhammadan and Hindu universities are to be open to students of all creeds and classes.' It cannot be forgotten how different this is from the views held by many of the influential supporters of the scheme; nor can it be hoped that a Hindu university, teaching the Hindu religion, will attract any considerable number of students of other religions. The doubt cannot fail to arise also in the mind of most Hindus whether, if it did so attract students, this would not involve something altogether of Hinduism. conception different from their thoughtful men will share the opinion of a Madras Hindu writer that it is at least doubtful whether sectarian universities can conduce to any spirit of unity among the various Indian This writer says, 'In the case of the Muhammadans there are other facts-the social forces, for instance-which tend to unity and national cohesion. But among the Hindus institutions which have received the sanction of religion have long flourished, perpetuating social discord. These will surely receive fresh inspiration from a university calculated to keep Hindus apart, in the plastic period of their youth, from the rest of the Indian people.'

The Maharajah's address, however, is a most valuable state ment of the sentiments and hopes which have led to the adoption of the scheme. I pass over what he says regarding secular instruction, especially the provision for technical instruction and research These matters, which have been too much neglected until recently now occupy a very prominent place in the thoughts both of the Government educational authorities and of non-officials interested in the subject. What strikes me as specially remarkable is the clear statement made regarding the importance of religious educa-The Maharajah drew attention to the steady increase of the demand for religious teaching, and to the growing conviction that character can best be built up when it rests on the precepts of 8 great and noble religion. He admitted that 'certain difficulties may at first present themselves as regards religious instruction but, he added, 'no such difficulties should obscure the fact of its necessity.' 'The Hindus, as also our Muhammadan brethren Musul.

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ole state adoption r instruc research. recently th of the nterested ole is the us educaase of the ction that cepts of a lifficulties ruction'; act of its brethren. are proud of being the heirs of a great civilisation, a great religion, and a great literature. It is to foster and conserve these that the two new Muhammadan and Hindu universities are now being promoted.' This is only one of innumerable illustrations which might be given to show that the demand for these sectarian universities arises from dissatisfaction with the Government system of education, as at present administered, in respect of the fact that it takes practically no account of the moral and religious training of the rising generation.

There is another difficulty in our present system which demands attention. It has arisen naturally through the progress of education. As education has advanced there has been a much more general resort to higher institutions. These necessarily are To attend them. fewer in number than the primary schools. therefore, means to many pupils or students that they have to leave their homes. If the system is not to be most dangerous to the moral life of these young people, it is clear that efficient arrangements must be made for the maintenance, as far as possible, of a sound and healthy home life for them. The need for this has attracted the attention of Government for a long time; and efforts have been made to provide hostels in connection with These institutions have become to that central institutions. extent residential. An efficient system of residential colleges is undoubtedly required, and ought to be provided by the united efforts of Government and of beneficent and wealthy individuals throughout the country. In these hostels, if they are private institutions, even though in connexion with Government colleges, arrangements can well be made for religious instruction; and then we should have students coming, in their hostel, under the religious influences of a good home, while in their secular work they found themselves side by side with young men of all religions, just as they will when they enter the world.

The great objection now taken in India to the Government system, as at present administered, is that it neglects this great subject of religion, but this is the opposite of the intention of the orders of 1854. There it is distinctly provided that religious instruction must be encouraged, though Government, being neutral, will not give any financial aid in respect of it; and the system devised for encouraging and maintaining the possibility of system devised for encouraging and maintaining the possibility of religious instruction, under a neutral Government, was the system of grants-in-aid for secular education. This has rendered possible the existence of a great number of religious institutions—Christian, Hindu and Muhammadan, existing alongside of the secular schools of the Government. The people are demanding more religious instruction in accordance with this policy; and it is deplorable to think that the answer which the Government seems CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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inclined to give is to go back on the old policy and to press Govern. ment institutions even where there is no evidence of failure on the part of existing private institutions. This policy has been strongly resisted by men of influence in Madras; and it is to be hoped that no change of principle will be allowed in this respect.

Another great complaint against our system of education by many thoughtful Indians is this, that it has tended to denationalise the peoples of India. No one who knows the subject can fail to recognise that there is a great deal of truth in this complaint. It has become far too general to impart education almost exclusively through the English language and to neglect the vernacular. This is entirely opposed to the system prescribed in the Dispatch of The framers of that Dispatch knew how unjust it is to the great masses of the peoples of India that their officers should not know their vernaculars. They also recognised how impossible it is to disseminate knowledge throughout the masses of the people by any other channel than through the vernacular. They therefore maintained the necessity for the study of the Indian classical languages and for the improvement of the vernaculars. insisted that the medium by which knowledge, even of western civilisation, was to be communicated to the people of India generally, was the vernacular; and they deplored a tendency, even then existing, 'unduly to neglect the study of the vernacular languages.' They also directed the training of schoolmasters in the vernacular, and the provision of vernacular schoolbooks to provide European information for the lower classes of schools.

The Maharajah of Bikaner also mentioned as a point in favour of the Hindu and Muhammadan universities 'that much good can be done by diverting the charities and activities of the two communities towards the promotion of education by creating institu tions which will appeal to them in a special degree.' Here be touches another defect in the application of the Government system. The Dispatch of 1854 directed the encouragement of private beneficence, and relied for the success of the Government system on the well-known liberality of Hindus and Muham madans towards education; but unfortunately the narrow spiri of departmentalism has, to a very large extent, tended to choke off this important means of advancing education. It is necessary that the Government and its officers should let the people under stand that they greatly value and honour beneficence in regard to education. Many Indians desire to receive guidance in the practice of that liberality which is characteristic of them; and such guidance ought not to be denied.

I am strongly of opinion that the sentiments which have led to the movement for the Hindu and Muhammadan universities in Indic are sentiments which are worthy of all honour.

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have led niversities But I do not believe that these universities will be of advantage to the cause of education, concord and progress in India. It appears probable now that these schemes may be carried through; for funds are being freely supplied. I earnestly hope, however, that the institutions will really be nothing more than colleges with the power of giving certain special degrees, and will not involve any revolution in the system of education in India. At the same time I earnestly hope that the system as prescribed will be enforced by the Government of India, and that deviation from it by departmental officers, contrary to the spirit and ideas of the peoples of India, will not be tolerated. The demand for religious education, and the protest against denationalisation by education, are too strong and too widespread to be ignored by a Government that desires to retain its place in the affection and loyalty of the peoples of India. I believe that, if we had Government giving itself, in accordance with the principles which have been formally accepted and consistently maintained, to assisting the people in obtaining good residential colleges, where religious and moral education would be effective, we should not hear of movements to establish sectarian universities. But these principles must be rigorously enforced, against departmental indifference or opposition, in accordance with the best Indian sentiment.

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THE TRUE LINES OF TEMPERANCE REFORM

More than most causes, that of temperance has been the victim of exaggerated advocacy. So completely, indeed, has the fanatic dominated the movement that fanaticism and temperance reform have become almost synonymous terms. It will be well, therefore, to begin this outline of a policy of temperance reform by an effort to clear away the atmosphere of fanaticism which has made the temperance movement a by-word. Such a clearance was never more necessary than to-day.

At present the very word temperance is misunderstood. I do not minimise the importance of sobriety in the consumption of intoxicating beverages, and still less the evil of insobriety, but I claim, none the less, that the word temperance is too large for the particular purpose to which it is put. unfortunate that a word which means so much more than self-restraint in the drinking of certain classes of beverages should have been adopted without qualification as the name of a movement designed to serve this comparatively narrow end. perance itself is only one of the seven capital virtues. though occupying this limited portion of the field of right living, it yet comprises much more than sobriety in the use of intoxi-It is worth noting, for example, that in the list of the seven deadly sins the converse vice which corresponds to the virtue of temperance is not drunkenness at all, but gluttony. The evil of intemperance is excessive indulgence. This article is not a theological treatise, and so I need not pursue the subject into a detailed statement of the reasons why excessive indulgence in any natural good is harmful; but we may usefully remember that over-feeding is hardly less disgusting than over drinking and, according to the doctors, is responsible for much more illness and death; it denotes, moreover, at least as great a weakening of the powers of self-restraint.

But the error in nomenclature is not concluded by the adop tion of too wide a word. In so far as the great bulk of so-called temperance reformers are concerned, temperance is altogether the wrong word. The dictionaries tell us that temperance means moderation; the fanatical 'temperance' reformers tell us that

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it means total abstinence; and, now that drunkenness is a waning evil, these propagandists actually declare, on the platform and in their journals, that 'the fight now is against the moderate drinker.' The name, therefore—never quite happy, because it necessarily narrowed a word of very wide meaning—has become grotesquely inappropriate as the label of a movement which has degenerated into a modern form of the old Manichean heresy, which regarded matter as evil—the hatred of matter among these neo-Manicheans being concentrated upon one particular substance-alcohol.

So topsy-turvy has it all become that one is inclined to abandon the word temperance altogether as applied to sobriety in the use of fermented beverages. But this would be a pity. The wiser course is that which is adopted by that small but useful society of which Lord Halsbury is President, whose members call themselves the True Temperance Association. become necessary, not only to uphold the virtue of temperance by proclaiming the evil of excessive indulgence in fermented liquors, but to reclaim the word from those fanatics who presume to identify it with the doctrine of total abstinence, a presumption without sanction either in Christianity or in common-sense.

I have said that the temperance movement has degenerated into fanaticism; and the statement is historically true. When it began, about a century ago, arising spontaneously, and with reason, in a state of society in which drunkenness was so widespread and constant as to be regarded merely as an amiable weakness, the propagandists of the movement went no farther than to counsel the temperate use of alcohol. The ravages of excessive gin-drinking among the lower classes, and to some extent of brandy-drinking in the upper classes, certainly led these early reformers to advocate the entire disuse of spirits in which the intoxicating element was so potent; but they did not preach total abstinence from the fermented drinks-wines and beers; and even to this day one may find a curious survival of this old-fashioned temperance in the North of England and in Ireland among persons who will tell you that they are pledged teetotallers, and therefore only drink port wine—in Ireland, I believe, frequently adding stout. But if one is reckless enough when opportunity arises, and one's stomach is strong enough, beers and wines may be drunk to an extent which produces intoxication. In those hard-drinking days of which I am speaking, drunkenness from excessive consumption of beers and wines was prevalent, and, seeing it, the temperance reformers took a new departure, and advocated abstention from all alcoholic bever-Here I may say parenthetically that they were not scientifically accurate; it is still only a question of degree. Just as CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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wines contain about a third or a fourth of the alcohol to be found in spirits, and beer about a third of the alcohol in wine, so in the beverages favoured by the teetotallers, as they now began to call themselves, the alcoholic proportion was in some cases less only. not absent; ginger beer frequently contains nearly half as much alcohol as beer. So almost omnipresent, indeed, is the vilified substance, that we now know it to exist to the extent of half per cent. in new bread, and that it is owing to its presence that new bread is so peculiarly palatable.

This departure from temperance into teetotalism was the deplorable turning point of the movement. One can understand it; for the reformer is always in a hurry, and the temperance reformer, being only human, forgot that patience is one of the dictionary synonyms of temperance. He soon also forgot all temperance of language; and, as we all know, the temperance movement rapidly degenerated into narrow fanaticism, which has become more violent rather than less violent with that dwindling of drunkenness, the diminution of which

was its original object.

Extravagant speeches, and the collection of large numbers of teetotal pledges from reformed drunkards, harmless old ladies, and little children, did not long satisfy the fanatics. In all ages the reformer in a hurry has tended to develop into a persecutor. Impatience prompts recourse to the secular arm. Conversion by precept and example is a slow and uncertain process; the heavy hand of the law is much more inviting. And so the fanatical teetotaller's mind and energies were soon turned from exhortation to compulsion; he availed himself of a group of musty medieval laws which had regulated public drinking at a time when the regulation of men's habits in general was regarded as peculiarly the province of the State; and upon this foundation he sought, and sought with success, to build a modern edifice of restriction of what he called the Two things made this work more easy: the liquor traffic. public disorder which drunkenness sometimes engenders, and the State's practice of using the liquor trade as a means of revenue. So began that long list of laws—there were no fewer than 237 of them on the Statute Book at once, until Parliament codified them a year ago—the complexities of which have been the by-word of lawyers and publicans, as their teeming absurdities have been the despair of lovers of liberty and common-sense

But, though the fanatic may be regarded as the mainspring of this legislation, as he was of the Licensing Bill of 1908, and is of the proposal for the resuscitation of that unfortunate measure, it is not wholly due to him; he would not have me with such success had he not been aided—first, by Statecraft,

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for reasons, I have just given; secondly, by the sentimentalists, who count for so much in modern legislation; and, thirdly, by the class of legislator who regards restriction as the proper environment for the working man.

These various influences have built up what is generically known as the licensing system. The legislative feat is not one of which the nation can be very proud. In spite of the happy change in drinking habits of late years, it still leaves Britain a more drunken country than are Continental nations, where the public consumption of fermented beverages is left untrammelled by the law. And it has, under the plea-not a good plea at the best-of 'reducing the facilities for drinking,' turned our comfortable old inns and what should be our commodious modern refreshment houses into ugly drinking shops, whose every appointment and regulation impress upon the visitor that he enters for the disreputable purpose of gulping down the maximum amount of intoxicating liquor in the minimum time. It has produced the tied-house system, which the promoters of licensing legislation themselves denounce so vigorously; for that system has arisen solely out of the policy of restriction in the number of public-houses which began about 1869. Public-houses are the chief outlet for the products of the brewery. Relations of a more or less exclusive kind tend naturally to grow up between particular breweries and particular public-houses. It became, therefore, a matter of importance to brewers, when they saw the outlets for their productions being checked in number, to cement the most intimate relations possible with as many of such outlets as possible.

I have not space here, nor is it necessary, to analyse the various enactments for enforcing sobriety by Act of Parliament, or to show in detail how they have failed, and why they were almost bound to fail, of their intended effect; but I may just find room to remind the reader that the closing of public-houses all day on Sundays in some parts of these islands, and for most of the day in other parts, and the earlier closing on week days, inevitably tend to foster home drinking of the more dangerous kind (one bottle of spirits being more portable than half-a-dozen bottles of beer); secret drinking; rapid drinking during the final closing hours, if they are too early for the habits of the neighbourhood; and the growth of clubs, where members and friends can drink when and as long as they choose and without the surveillance of the police. I would point out, too, that the rigid discountenancing of games and ample accommodation in publichouses, which has been the stupid and insolent policy of the law and its administrators, has degraded the public-house, and therewith the summistrators, has degrated the house merely a therewith the summistrators, has degrated the house merely a therewith the summistrators, has degrated the house merely a therewith the house merely a summistrators, has degrated the house merely a therewith the house merely a summistrators, has degrated the house merely a summistrators.

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place to drink in. Again, the restriction in the number of public-houses has not only produced the tied-house system, and such evils as may be attributed thereto, but it has encouraged drunkenness in two ways: (1) By crowding the bars (their space already restricted by magistrates) of such public-houses as remain, the landlord's supervision of his customers becomes more difficult; no landlord is such a brute or such a fool as wittingly to serve with intoxicating liquor an already drunken man, but he cannot so easily distinguish such an one when wedged in a crowd. (2) The fewer public-houses there are in the town the more likely is a convivial customer to meet considerable number of his friends in the particular house which he enters, and be subjected by a larger number, therefore, to the dangers of treating.

And, again, let me point out that the State's fiscal policy has been almost as deplorable as it is extraordinary. a fair estimate to say that a quarter of the price of beer is tax in one form or another, while in the case of spirits the price is almost all tax. In selecting this one class of merchandise for such amazingly heavy imposts the hand of fanaticism is easily It is not all Statecraft, or even Statecraft degenerated into greed; and it is not all a puritanical penalty upon luxury, for other luxuries (save the cognate stimulant of tobacco) go untaxed, or are but lightly taxed. The adequate explanation can only be found in the assumption that heavy taxation will reduce heavy drinking—though it is a curious doctrine of public finance so to arrange your taxes that they shall defeat their

proper object, which is the collection of revenue.

But no more absurd or futile effort to make people sober by Act of Parliament has ever been conceived than this of piling heavy imposts upon intoxicating liquors. Such imposts may and do restrict the consumption of a moderate man of small means, but such restriction is difficult to justify; and they may and probably do, force the man who is not wealthy or extravagant to drink liquors of inferior quality (and here again the result State interference is scarcely happy); but it may be doubted whether the real drunkard drinks any less. We all know that he is so weak in his will and so strong in his passions, or so deeply afflicted with a craving arising out of mental or physical disease, that he is ready, in order to obtain drink, to make the deplorable sacrifices which the teetotal propagandists depict such lurid colours. He is going to have his drink, whatever costs; and the more it costs the less money will be available for the necessities of his home. When teetotal orators draft harrowing pictures of ruined homes and starving children through drink, they forget to put some of the blame upon the shoulders

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n through oulders of the State, and those who have induced the State to make the drink so irrationally dear.

From the standpoint, therefore, of sobriety in drink our licensing system, and the whole policy underlying it, have singularly failed; what progress has been made in recent years towards temperance has been made, I say deliberately, in spite of so-called temperance legislation and the licensing system. A simple test will prove this: Where did the movement towards temperance begin? It began among those classes of society whose members do not use the public-house, and who, except in rare cases, have not been touched by the teetotal propaganda, which has been confined to the working and lower middle classes. The movement has filtered down from the gentleman to the working man, as other movements and fashions, good and bad, have the habit of doing in this country. Neither the administrators of teetotal pledges nor the builders or administrators of licensing laws can claim any credit for the improvement which has been achieved; whereas it may well be argued that a stupid licensing system has retarded the improvement.

But we must avoid falling into the pit which most teetotal propagandists have dug for themselves—that is, of regarding sobriety in the use of fermented beverages as the one virtue worth troubling about. That is the way most heresies have arisen-by confining oneself to one particular doctrine or aspect of the doctrine, perfectly true in itself, but becoming monstrously untrue when taken out of its setting and regarded There are other things of capital importance to our well-being besides temperance in drink. Let me name two: freedom, and the building up of character, for which a large measure of freedom is essential. Living in society, a man's freedom to do exactly as he chooses must necessarily be curtailed in some directions. It must be curtailed when a man would do something which would injure or oppress his neighbours. That is a condition, indeed, of the freedom which those neighbours are entitled to enjoy with himself. But, outside certain obviously necessary limitations of personal freedom, one needs to proceed with the utmost caution, and only the strongest case will support interference. It is desirable that men should not become chronic or public drunkards. Most men in most ages and countries are temperate enough, but there is always a minority, of varying size but usually small, of men addicted to drunkenness; and it is evidently desirable that they should cease from their vice. But when, in order that they may so cease, proposals are brought forward for State restriction of the habits and liberties of the whole population, the vast majority of which is in no need of them, restrictions which entail incon-CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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venience and, worse still, must necessarily act upon individual character as the tying up of an arm would act upon the muscles of that arm—then, even if it could be proved that the proposed restrictions would achieve their purpose of sobering the drunken few, would it not be paid for too dearly? Evil as drunkenness is the absence of it is no virtue when it is produced by vis major; the excellent moral conduct of a prisoner is hardly a virtue worth mak. ing much of. To abolish by human force the divinely appointed area in which human free will is designed to operate is an act of blasphemy which in the early days of Christianity, in connexion with an analogous matter to which more detailed reference need not be made, was condemned by the Church. Admirably, therefore, as well as boldly, did a prelate of the Anglican Church declare some years ago, 'better England free than England sober.' And here we have the final condemnation of teetotal legislation.

'Better free than sober'—but best of all, free and sober. And that is the condition, as the Licensing and Criminal Statistics show, which we are now approaching. The question is how to help forward that desirable consummation. In other words, what is the true line of temperance reform? For some years past now I have been convinced, and my conviction grows in strength, that the true line is to be found mainly in the transformation of the public-house. The public-house is a social necessity. It is, and has long been, not only the place of refreshment for the wayfarer, but the combined club, cellar, and dining-room of the working classes. And instead of being 8 diminishing necessity, as the State closing of alleged superfluous public-houses would seem to indicate, it is becoming an increasing social necessity; other classes of society, even the most wealthy, are now appreciating the necessity, or at any rate the desirability, of obtaining refreshment and amusement and giving entertainment in public places designed for the purpose, instead of in their own homes. There should therefore be no question of abolishing the public-house. Our sole aim should be to transform it, in accordance with our best practicable

Let me sketch my own. The ideal public-house would be allowing, of course, plenty of scope for local variations, a commodious and decent building, into which any passer-by might enter and call for any reasonable kind of refreshment—food of drink, the latter alcoholic or non-alcoholic. He should be able to consume these refreshments comfortably seated in a room well lit, warmed, and ventilated. He should be able not only to smoke, but if he chose, to obtain the materials for smoking also on the premises. The place should be so reputable that

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whatever his social position, he could enter it openly, and even take his wife and children with him and find suitable refreshment there for them. If he were alone he should be able to call for or purchase in the house newspapers and magazines. If he had any business to transact there should be a telephone on the premises for his use. If he had one or more friends, and the party desired amusement other than conversation, they should be able to call for cards, chess or dominoes, or quoits and bowls in the country. Or, if they desired more passive amusement, there should be music to listen to. The humblest inn could provide an hour or two a day of piano playing; the richer-the large houses in wealthy towns-could furnish a small orchestra and a vocalist or two. And there is no reason why dancing should not be permitted under due guarantees of respectability. This is the ideal public-house. Such a house as this would add to the innocent enjoyment of the people, and would be an incentive to temperance and good order. No one would misbehave himself in such surroundings by drinking to excess, or by any other form of disorder; public opinion would make such conduct impossible. Upon young people of the working and lower middle classes such a house would exercise a positive influence for good. It would improve their manners, and might improve their morals. They would be better in such a house than in prowling streets and lanes at night; and they would avoid that boredom which is the fruitful parent of all kinds of mischief.

Can this ideal be realised? It evidently can. difficulties in the way, of course. Has any reform ever been known that has not had to encounter difficulties? But of this I am convinced—that the difficulties in the way of the transformation of the public-house on the lines I have indicated are

not insuperable.

Take the obvious practical difficulty which has been allegedthe difficulty of bringing up to a definite standard the many thousands of public-houses up and down the country which to-day not only deviate deplorably from the ideal type, but vary among themselves and in reference to the requirements they have to The answer to this difficulty is that when one speaks of the ideal public-house one is gathering up into a picture a number of qualities to indicate the general type. But there will be particular types; and it is not proposed that all publichouses should conform to exactly the same standard. Let me illustrate by one or two examples.

Take first the commodious, well-appointed house in London or the near suburbs or one of the larger provincial towns—the house which tradesmen, clerks, men of business generally, and Vol. LXXI—No. 422

the smaller professional men now patronise in the evening, to chat over a glass of whisky and perhaps play a game of Many of these houses have been vastly improved already in recent years, and the task of converting them into ideal public-houses would not entail very serious structural or The bars would be removed, or reduced decorative changes. to a mere service bar in a corner of the establishment; tables and easy chairs and a small bandstand would occupy the vacant space; a newspaper kiosk could be installed in one corner, and a counter for the sale of confectionery and tobacco in another: an adjoining small room would do for the telephone, and another room could be fitted with writing tables. And, just as to-day divisions are made between the various bars, so some sort of partition could be put up in the main hall to fence off the serious diners from those who only want light refreshment. Where possible a sort of conservatory should be thrown out, to give an air of lightness and coolness and to add to the pleasant and picturesque appearance of the house; and the floor would be carpeted with matting and rugs. There would be a sufficient display of programmes, setting forth the daily fare of all edibles and beverages (with prices), as well as of the music to be performed in the afternoon or evening. In most of such houses as are now contemplated it would also be practicable and desirable to provide an adjoining room where women, alone or with children, could go if they preferred it. One could instance further details, but enough has been said to indicate the transformation which could be wrought in the better-class town or suburban public-house.

But the town public-house frequented by poorer folk is even more in need of transformation. The change is not quite so easy, but it is not impossible of attainment when allowance is made for the fact that the full programme of accessories such as have been outlined in the previous paragraph would not be expected with this class of house. It is all a matter of degree. varieties of refreshment and entertainment and decoration would be on a simpler scale—that is all. The class of customers in Whitechapel would not want (and would not pay for) such luxurious service as would be expected in Hampstead. Yet, in spite' of comparative simplicity, the change would be greater than in the case of the class of house previously referred to. The light and warmth of the public-house as it is to-day in the poorer quarte.'s of towns would be retained; but, by the abolition of the stui ty compartment system and the big space-destroying bars, fresher sir would be secured, and the additional space would get rid of c rowding and allow a sufficiency of comfortable seats; while incorpensive but clean and simple, well-cooked and appe-

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tising food would furnish a welcome alternative to the monotonous pewter pots of beer. These and the like alterations (which in most cases could be achieved without structural extensions) would transform the average poor man's public-house out of recognition, and he and his womenfolk would quickly respond to the new conditions and improve their own appearance and manners to accord therewith. In this class of house, above all, the opportunity of resting in comfort, playing a game of draughts or dominoes, hearing the popular songs and dances on a piano and violin, eating decently cooked meals, reading a newspaper or writing a letter, would be appreciated; and the popularity of the new style of house would stimulate licensees to compete with each other in adding such comforts, adornments, and entertainments as their ingenuity could suggest, and their means render possible.

A third type of house may be mentioned—the village inn. The same sort of improvements would not be wanted here as in town public-houses, but the opportunities are almost equally great. More often than not the village inn has some ground attached which could be utilised for bowls, and other games, or a miniature rifle gallery, a dancing lawn, or an al fresco concert place. At the least, comfortable chairs and settees and small tables could be provided for the patronage of the public in fine weather. As to the interior, in many village inns this is picturesque enough now, and would need little more than a brightening up on lines which would be harmonious with the character of an old hostelry. A common fault at present with many of these places is that space is rather cramped in them, but the abolition of a bar, and the opening out of two or three small rooms into one large room, would usually remove this difficulty; and building out, when necessary, would not be a serious operation in a village. Where the house was of sufficient importance the adjoining courtyard could be roofed in with glass, and be floored with tiles, as I have seen done with excellent results in a Norfolk hotel.

Such attractions as musical entertainment would, of course, be both simpler and less frequent in the village than in the town, but some provision could be made for them, and they would be even more appreciated than in the town. The traveller would heartily welcome such a haven of refreshment; but the village resident, for whom it would chiefly exist, would enjoy it quite as much; for it would brighten up and dispel the monotony of village life, and the mechanical manufacture of lethargic village topers would soon die out. In the right sort of situation—the green, or the outskirts of the village street—and with the right

sort of licensee, the village inn could easily develop into one of

the most charming features of English rural life. There is no doubt of the practicability of this much to be desired transformation of the public-house. There is no doubt either, of the popularity which would await it: Continental experience, and initial experiments at home, alike demonstrate All that is wanted to start the transformation is the awaken. ing of public interest, the diversion of misplaced and miscalled 'temperance' sentiment, a broader view on licensing benches, the removal of a few useless restrictions from the Statute Book, a change in the methods and extent of taxation, and an end of confiscatory attacks upon the trade to whose enterprise the carrying out of the improvements will necessarily be entrusted. For we must not forget that the transformation would involve the owners of public-houses in some capital outlay, and though the actual work of improvement must be left to voluntary enterprise, there is this that the State can do: it can ease the fiscal burden for the purpose of encouraging enterprise and enabling the needed capital to be raised, and it can overhaul, and largely eliminate from the Statute Book, the restrictions which in times past it has imposed, and which, with the change in the character of the tavern, will become more than ever unnecessary and harmful. So much, indeed, will be only an act of reparation which the State owes to the public and the publican for its past foolishness; but in doing this rather negative work the State will, for the first time in its licensing history, be really taking a part in true temperance reform.

F. E. SMITH.

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A CATHOLIC LAYMAN

In Lord Tennyson's recently published Tennyson and His Friends, a brief chapter is devoted to Sir John Simeon, the close and chosen friend of many of the gifted and enlightened men in days when, indeed, there were giants upon the earth. I propose in the following pages to amplify the little that chapter tells of

my father and his circle.

Sir John Simeon was born in 1815, the eldest son of Sir Richard Simeon, of Grazeley, Berkshire, and of St. John's in the Isle of Wight. His mother was Louisa, daughter and heiress of Sir Fitzwilliam Barrington, of Barrington Hall in Essex. His grandfather was senior Master in Chancery, and Comptroller of the private fortune and estates of George the Third during the time of his mental illness. The baronetcy goes back to an ancient date, as it was first created by James the First. At that time the Simeons lived in Oxfordshire, where they held large estates besides town property in Oxford, where 'Simeon Street' still Their chief place was at Pyrton, and there Elizabeth Simeon, as may now be seen in the parish register, was married to John Hampden. The family would seem to have been always Catholic, as Sir Edward Simeon was the founder of the Mission at Oxford and of the little Church of St. Lawrence, the only Catholic Church there at the time of the Oxford Movement. The Oxfordshire property was sold in 1717, but later on, through my grandmother, the family came near to acquiring all the Barrington estates in Essex, as well as those in the Isle of Wight. Unfortunately, the want of the signature by one of the witnesses to a will upset their claim to the Essex property, but their title to the Isle of Wight estates could not be alienated, by virtue of Swainston being a royal manor, including Carisbrooke Castle and its manorial rights.1

King Egbert granted the Manor of Swainston to the Bishops of Winchester, who ceded it with legal forms to Edward the First, and the property has come down direct to the present owner through Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, daughter

All that now remain to the Crown are the Castle of Carisbrooke and Parkhurat Forestc-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

of the Duke of Clarence, of our schoolroom butt of malmsey memory. She married Sir Richard Pole, and was the mother of Henry Lord Montague, of Cardinal Pole, and of a daughter Winifred, who married Sir Francis Barrington. When her brother, Edward Earl of Warwick, was declared a traitor and had his lands forfeited, 'It pleased the King (Henry the Eighth) that she might inherit as the sister and next-of-blood to his state and dignity, and so be styled Countess of Sarum.' She carried the Princess Mary to her baptism in the Greyfriars Church at Greenwich, and was afterwards appointed Lady Governess of the Princess and her household.

Cardinal Pole had incurred Henry the Eighth's displeasure. and a price was set on his head; under these circumstances he elected to reside abroad. The King vented his anger on the remaining members of his family, and his mother, Lady Salisbury, then over seventy years of age, was imprisoned in the Tower for two years. Henry finally signed the warrant for her execution. 'Early in the morning of the 27th of May 1541 the news was brought to this venerable lady that she was to die that very day-a highhanded proceeding, as she had never been put to trial. She walked with a firm step from her prison cell to the place of execution on East Smithfield Green, which was then within the precincts of the Tower. No scaffold had been erected: there was but a low block or log of wood. The Countess devoutly commended her soul to God, and asked the bystanders to pray for the King, the Queen, Prince Edward, and the Princess Mary, her beloved godchild, to whom she sent her last blessing. She was then commanded to lay her head upon the block, which she did. regular executioner being busy in the North a wretched and blundering youth (garçonnau) had been chosen to take his place who literally hacked her head and shoulders to pieces in the most pitiful manner. This is Chapuys' account. Mr. Gairdner says it is evidently more trustworthy than that of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who is responsible for the well-known story, that when told to lay her head on the block the Countess replied "So should traitors do, and I am none." The executioner still insisting, she still refused, and, "turning her grey head every way, she bid him if he would have her head get it as he could, and thus she was literally hacked to death." Her last words were "Blessed are they who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake." The Blessel Margaret thus wore a crown more brilliant than those of earth

² Readers of 'Harrison Ainsworth's *Tower of London* will remember the doggerel of Mauger, the headsman, referring to the Countess of Salisbury:

Salisbury's Countess, she would not die As a proud dame should, decorously. Lifting my axe I split her skull, And the edge since then has been notched and dull.

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It was a grand end for a kingly race, for Margaret was the last in direct descent of the line of Plantagenet.' 3 I now pass from my distinguished ancestress to my grand-

father, Sir Richard Simeon. Educated at Eton in days very different from the present, he determined never to send his sons there. Nevertheless, Eton turned him out a sufficient scholar to educate his eldest boy entirely until he was twelve years old, when he handed him over to a private tutor. three years in France my father matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1834. Three years later he took his degree, passing out with a creditable second class in Classics. In 1849 he was elected for the Isle of Wight, his father, who had become its first representative on the island being made a Parliamentary division of a county under the Reform Act of 1832, having resigned the seat

in his favour.

I do not think that the disturbing influences of the Oxford Movement, or Newman's personal ascendency, had very much to do with my father's conversion. Besides, it must be remembered that the man-of-the-world Liberalism of the Church of England alarmed Newman long before he himself made the election to become a Catholic, and that for some years he exerted himself strenuously to prevent people from straggling in the direction of Anyhow, my father never referred his own change of religion to that awakening of the minds of Churchmen which is associated with Tracts for the Times, and of which we have just been so vividly reminded by Mr. Wilfrid Ward. Indeed, my impression is that the dialectical controversies of that periodthe sometimes over-ingenious manipulations of first principles, the reservations, the hyper-meanings or hyper-whittling down of meanings, the shadings, as it were, of what seemed to him cardinal colours, can hardly have commended themselves to his type of mind or to his notions of essentials.

The ability of the controversialists: their sincerity, the keenness and closeness of their critical sword-play were abundantly recognised by intelligent people; but as one of the least extravagant and most single-hearted of Catholic laymen, my father stuck

to broad issues.

His admiration of Dr. Newman's writings was not for their polemical or dogmatic skill. This was not their appeal for him any more than it was for Dean Stanley,4 and he had little sympathy with what Mr. Ward, in an admirable preface to his absorbing book, defines as one of the Cardinal's most characteristic contentions—namely, that apparent inconsistencies may often be

Dom Bede Camm's Lives of the English Martyrs. Lom Bede Camm's Lives of the English Martyrs.

'Newman's writings belong not to provincial dogma but to the literature

of all time 'CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

justified by reasoning from special aspects or exceptional circum. stances. Thus, on a celebrated occasion my father insisted upon Newman taking the full responsibility, spirit and letter, of what he had written. This is so fully treated in Mr. Ward's book that I need not refer to it further, except as an illustration of his love of the open and the straightforward.5

His own secession from the Anglican Church was due to quite other and simpler causes. Perhaps sub-consciously he may have dreamed dreams and seen visions of a return to the Faith and to the traditions of his predecessors, long before the Dominus illuminatio mea came in the Cathedral at Mayence. I dare say that Oxford and its memories of great priests and fine scholars, its beauty, its medievalism, may have had some share in the gradual insistence of new religious opinions. It may also be that, like many others, as he surveyed the troublesome jars and acrimonies of Nonconformists, Churchpeople and Persuasions, his thoughts went back to the days when one Church took charge of the souls of one united people and represented for them the authority appointed by Heaven. But be this as it may, it was not until much later, in 1847, that the cardinal point of time was reached. My father was abroad, his mother became very ill and he was summoned home. Delayed on his way at Mayence, he went into the Cathedral very early in the morning. There he experienced for the first time the dominating reality of the power, the faith and piety of the ancient worship. He always said to my mother: 'I went into that church a Protestant and came out of it a Catholic.' The intimation was distinct, and it was accepted.6

My father was received into the Catholic Church in the spring of 1851 under the guidance of his friend, Manning, whose conversion had only shortly preceded his own. Among other friends who like himself had found their ground of belief untenable, were my godfather, James Hope Scott, Lord Emly, and Sir Stephen De Vere and his brother Aubrey.

Inevitably this was a wrench from many ties and associations. Apart from its more solemn and spiritual aspects, a secession-or a conversion, as I prefer to call it—was in many ways a more serious step at that time than it became a little later on, or than it is now. In those days it seems to have upset one's relations to

Life of Cardinal Newman, by Wilfrid Ward, vol. iii. p. 290.

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Mozley appears to have undergone a somewhat similar experience. In his Reminiscences of Oriel and the Oxford Movement, he says, 'Either on principle or for lack of opportunity I had never before entered a Catholic Chapel since some friends took me to Moorfields Chapel in 1821 I think. So what I now saw (in Normandy) would come upon me with all the force of novelty, and it imme diately had a great fascination for me. This was truly worship. There was the sense of a Divine Presence : all hearts were moved as one. The freedom with which the people seated themselves here and there seemed to speak of s rude antiquity.

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a degree which could hardly be imagined, having regard to their own attitude and activities in matters appertaining to religion. I recall the instance of a fox-hunting country gentleman, in many ways an excellent man, but who never attended any place of worship, and whose conversation was anywhere but in heaven. His eldest son was more seriously-minded, and became a Catholic. His father excommunicated him, not exactly with bell, book, and candle, but in a thoroughly efficient manner. The father's friends were bewildered, the son much surprised; but there it was; Mr. -- had got the thing up, and he justified his action on grounds which would have commended themselves to a Dissenting minister or a Low Church Bishop. But speaking generally, Catholics at that time were imperfectly understood. We were regarded as a strange and mischievous people who worshipped images, went to church at odd hours and on incomprehensible days, practised ineffable rites, and were not sound on Sunday roast-beef and plum-pudding. In this connexion let me quote Canon Oakeley 7:

It must be very difficult for those who are sons of the Church, not by adoption but by inheritance, to realise, even by a strong effort of imagination, the depth and extent of the ignorance which prevailed among members of the Anglican Establishment at the beginning of the Tractarian Movement with regard to the state and feelings of the Catholic community in It is no exaggeration to say that many of us knew far more about the manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians or Scythians than of the characters and doings of this portion of our fellow-countrymen.

I have no reason to think that I was myself at all behind the general run of my contemporaries in the advantages of education or in knowledge of the world, so that my own ideas, in early youth, of the subject in question may be received as a fair sample of the average opinions of young people

at the time. I thought that the Roman Catholics of England did not at the most number more than about eighty or one hundred souls, who were distributed in certain great families over the midland and northern counties. I thought that each of these families lived in a large haunted house, embosomed in yew-trees, and surrounded by high brick walls. About the interior of these mansions I had also my ideas.

I thought that they were made up of vast dreary apartments walled with tapestry, with state bedrooms, in which were enormous bedsteads, surmounted by plumes, and which only required horses to be put to them in order to become funeral cars. I fancied, of course, that there reigned around and within these abodes a preternatural silence, broken only by the flapping of bats, and the screeching of owls.

And he goes on to say:

The strange thing is that although I have no reason to think that the subject was interdicted at home, somehow I never liked talking about it, or trying to clear up my notions by comparison with those of others. subject never seemed to come up naturally or to lie in anyone's way.

These things being so, my grandfather, who, having regard to his own evangelical opinions, could hardly have been expected to be sympathetic, was exceedingly upset by the step his son had seen fit to take. There was no real loss of affection, but it must have created a rather uncomfortable state of things at Swainston, and for two years my father went abroad with his wife and children. They lived in Italy, and divided the time between Rome, Naples, and Sorrento: a lengthy sojourn which the ladies and gentlemen of that day seem to have had the fortitude to go through with, but which with their English tastes and habits must at times have become very irksome.

But other things besides English habits had to be abandoned. It was stated baldly in a preceding page that my father had been returned for Parliament in 1849. Parliament had now to be given up. Later on he was to re-enter it, but in 1851 he felt that it would not do to stay on: that the honourable course was to resign. Thus the growing interests and prospects of an active Parliamentary career had to cease. This was sad, for he was getting on. From the first he had elected to follow, and had stuck to, Sir Robert Peel, and from the time that Mr. Gladstone joined Sir Robert Peel's Administration in the room of Lord Derby, in 1846, Mr. Gladstone secured my father's unwavering support.

In 1865 Dr. Newman and many other people began to get very uneasy over Mr. Gladstone's political proceedings. Writing from the Oratory on the 4th of August 1865 to Mr. Keble, Dr.

Newman says:

A very painful separation⁸—really he does go great lengths, and I cannot help feeling that the anxiety to keep him, on the part of such persons as yourself, was quite as much on his own account as on account of the University. He has lost his tether now that the Conservatives have got rid of him, and won't he go lengths! I should have been in great perplexity had I been an Oxford man how to vote. I suppose I should certainly in the event have voted for him, but most grudgingly. None of his friends seem to trust his politics; indeed, he seems not to know, himself, what are his landmarks and his necessary limits.

But Mr. Gladstone's Churchmanship and character kept my father faithful, just as they kept Keble, himself a high Tory, and many others who felt as puzzled and ill-at-ease as Dr. Newman. My father's connexion with Mr. Gladstone, however, was not only personal. He had much at heart the question of colonisation, and was associated with Lord Richard Cavendish, Lord Lyttelton, Mr. Godley, Mr. Beresford Hope and others in the foundation of the Settlement of Canterbury in New Zealand, which was intended to be a model Anglican colony. Some of the

^e Mr. Gladstone had just been defeated for Oxford. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar to the

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land then acquired has become valuable, and furnishes a revenue to the Church in New Zealand.

In 1854 my grandfather died, and Swainston became my father's home. The quiet and remote loveliness of the island in those days can hardly be conceived now. The prospect of the Isle of Wight in the haze of a summer's morning, as Wesley viewed it from Southampton, inspired the hymn 'There is a land of pure delight,' and it was still a rural retreat eminently adapted—as advertisements would say-for poets, men of letters, and superior persons generally. Indeed, its high qualities in this respect have almost been over-treated by a flood of Tennysonian literature. Now motor vans of appreciative trippers, often accompanied by a cornet-player, enliven and enjoy its highways and byways; but in those days the wayfarer would only encounter a bell-team waggon pursuing its stately way along the Newport Road, and might bathe his soul in the simple sights and sounds of country life which Stevenson recommends to the town lady. The lines are so elegant as to be worth quoting:

> Far have you come my lady from the town, And far from all your sorrows if you please, To smell the good sea air and hear the seas, And in green meadows lay your body down.

> Here in this sea-board land of old renown, In meadow grass go wading to the knees, Bathe your whole soul awhile in simple ease, There is no sorrow but the sea can drown, Far have you come my lady from the town.

My father all along liked London: his cultivated and agreeable friends, his clubs, the vicissitudes and surprises of the town. Its main currents, art, literature, politics, society, all these good things he enjoyed and valued to the full, but still at heart he was a country gentleman, zealous and versed in local affairs, taking a personal and active interest, which it was much easier to do in those days than it is now, in all the proceedings of his tenantry; those days than it is now, in all the proceedings of his tenantry; those days than it is now, in all the proceedings of his tenantry; those days than it is now, in all the proceedings of his tenantry; those days than it is now, in all the proceedings of his tenantry; those days than it is now, in all the proceedings of his tenantry; those days than it is now, in all the proceedings of his tenantry; those days than it is now, and himself, shooting a good deal, and proficiently, at home and abroad, hunting within the limits which precipitous downs and sea-mists impose, and himself keeping the hounds as long as he could afford it. At this time Tennyson wrote to him:

It is no more than probable that I cannot be with you to see the hounds throw off, which yet I should well like to see, for though no huntsman I love all country sights and sounds.

But all this peace was to be broken by trumpet and drum. In 1859 the dread of a French invasion led to the Volunteer CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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Movement. The Isle of Wight did not like the look of things. Its inhabitants felt that any day they might wake up, not perhaps with their threats cut, but to find the enemy scrambling up their cliffs. Punch, the best serio-comic history of those or any days. does ample justice to the Volunteers. Patriotic ardour pervaded the vulnerable island, and my father threw himself with zest into the general call to arms. He used to say, but quite cheerfully, 'There might be many a worse end than to die fighting for one's country on Afton Down.'

However, quite pacific people used to come to Swainston: there were shooting friends, but he had a good many visitors who did not shoot and paid him visits for the sake of good talks about books, politics and poetry, and long walks seem to have been their chief recreation. It was the fashion of those days. Jowett, Mr. Gladstone, Leslie Stephen, the Master of Trinity, E. Bowen, Bradley, Charles Kingsley, Wordsworth and all the Lakeists appear to have been nearly always walking. Leslie Stephen, we are told, stalked like fate in a recuperative silence. Mr. Jowett did much of his Socratic and more gentle admonishing afoot. Bowen tired out two or three Harrow boys during the Christmas and Easter holidays on walking tours. Walks are responsible for at least a third of Grant Duff's copious diaries, and always with more or less eminent persons. My mother told me that she was often impressed by the grim resolution which impelled my father and his cultivated friends to face any weather, muddy roads, and long miles, without any of those special preparations in the way of dress which everybody considers necessary now. As the devoted little party mustered in the hall I even seem to remember the thin elasticside boot popular with early Victorians, and the light, dingy grey overcoats optimistically known as waterproofs. Yes, indeed, an occasional bout of serious walking seems to have been of physical, intellectual, and moral necessity to the thinkers, poets, and men of letters of those days. Now, perhaps, it is only their writings that are pedestrian.

So much for country life. In 1857 and in 1859 my father had been invited to stand for Parliament, but declined in favour of Mr. Clifford. However, in 1865, he consented to stand, and both then and three years later he was returned. It was a great triumph, in a constituency largely Protestant and Conservative, and he was the first Catholic to represent a county in Parliament since the Reformation. To my mind a great honour.

the election Tennyson wrote to him:

Let us hope that the greatest of all triumphs for yourself awaits you a personal triumph, not because people agree with you, but in spite of all

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spe he im disagreement. I hope we shall prove ourselves sensible that you are the man who has had the best interests of the Island most at heart, and has worked hardest to promote them.

To glance for a moment at his active interest in letters, I am pleased to see that Mr. Edmund Gosse, in his Life of Dr. Donne, writes: 'Serious attention to the bibliography of the poems of Donne was first called by Sir John Simeon in the treatise founded on a rather late MS. which he printed for the Philobiblon Society in 1856,' and he refers to an 'interesting find' which my father made of some manuscript poems of Donne's at Swanley. As Honorary Secretary of the Philobiblon Society he made various contributions to its records, wrote many articles himself in the British Critic and in the Rambler, ranging over various topics from ballad poetry to the philosophy of language, and kept in constant touch with polite letters. Referring to The Ring and The Book, Browning wrote to him (the 28th of December 1868):

I rejoice that you like my poem so far, and are prepared to encounter the rest, which is all I want, as whatever effect will be, will result from the whole, though the parts go for something, too. A critic regrets I have not enlivened what you have seen 'by a few songs or lyrics.' Did not an Irish reporter once under the impulse of a good dinner call—in the pause of Parliamentary debate—for 'a song from the Speaker'?

As a regular attendant of the Breakfast Club he was one of the party, who, meeting at Mr. Gladstone's house, found themselves without butter. Domestic interruptions of any kind were sternly forbidden on these occasions. However, the need was grave. Mr. Gladstone himself left the room to report the circumstance to Mrs. Gladstone, who, like another, but a benevolent. Jael,

quickly brought forth butter in a lordly dish. His particular friends at the Breakfast Club were George Dufferin, J. A. Froude, Trevelyan, Henry Bruce, Lord Thackeray, Mr. Grant Duff, Sir Thomas Erskine May, Henry Cowper and Lord Houghton. Edward Lear was another great ally. The name alone calls up delightful memories: indeed, this was 'a fellow of infinite jest.' I possess lots of queer drawings he made for me as a child in his best Book of Nonsense manner and vein. As an artist Lear perhaps errs in the direction of panorama, but he was a beautiful draughtsman, and my father, who admired his work, became the possessor of what was considered his best picture, The Crag that Fronts the Even.

My father's health, which for some time past had given anxiety, began to fail in 1870, and in the April of that year, when speaking in the House of Commons, he was attacked by slight hemorrhage. He was ordered complete rest, and left London After spending Easter in Paris with his friends immediately.

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there, the Wynne Finchs, Montalembert, Mrs. Craven, and Père Gratry, he went to Switzerland with my mother. At Fribourg, where they were staying for a night only, he was again seized with hemorrhage, and the end came very quickly. These words from a contemporary letter seem to give the impression made by his sudden and untimely death:

I do not remember another instance of death that has left such a blank in London society and among people of the most diverse dispositions and opinions. There was something so fine and genial in his nature that every. one who fell in his way was attracted, and one is quite surprised to find the most case-hardened men of the world talking of him now that he is gone with something that resembles tenderness and affection.

Loved and regretted by the friends of his London life, he was incomparably more so in his own home, for the fine gifts of his heart and intellect were enhanced by a charm of manner, an inborn courtesy, that drew all hearts to him. To this day, over forty years since his death, he is remembered in the island he loved so much and served so loyally, with a faithful and vivid affection rarely to be found in these times of hurrying unrest and indifference.

He was laid to rest beneath the beautiful old church in Calbourne village in the presence of crowds of sad friends gathered there, rich and poor, great and small. The words of the inscription on the stone above his resting-place were suggested by Dr. Newman.

Mr. George Venables 10 in a notice privately printed in the year of his death, after complimenting him on his idiomatic French, his acquaintance with the Classics, and his literary activities, was good enough to add:

If Sir John Simeon's disposition had been pushing and actively ambitious, he might easily have achieved greater worldly success and wider notoriety, and if his life had been prolonged the appreciating esteem of his numerous friends, among whom many were themselves distinguished, would gradually have created for him a general reputation. To a certain extent his admirable moral qualities stood in the way of his intellectual and practical capacity.

This certainly savours of the pompous and stilted fashion of the time, and one cannot help thinking how differently treated would be the appreciation to-day of an intimate friend. For my part I

9 John Ball to Sir Henry Layard.

¹⁰ Mr. Venables was a great friend of my father's. It may be remembered that he broke Thackeray's nose in a fight at Charterhouse School, and was supposed to be the original of George Warrington in Pendennis. He suggested to Tennyson the line in The Primary of the Control of Co to Tennyson the line in The Princess: 'If that hypothesis of theirs be sound.'
This has a legal smeal should it This has a legal smack about it; explained by the fact that Mr. Venables was at the time a leading council at the Data at the time a leading counsel at the Parliamentary Bar, in the brilliant days of Mr. Hope Scott.

turn, with a slight sense of relief, to the beautiful sonnets of Aubrey De Vere 11 to my father's memory, which Mr. Wilfrid Ward kindly allows me to reproduce in extenso:

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This day we keep our Candlemas in snow. Wan is the sky: a bitter wind and drere Wrinkles the bosom of you blackening mere. Of these I reck not, but of thee, and oh Of that bright Roman morn so long ago When children new of her, that Church more dear To liegeful hearts with each injurious year, We watched the famed procession circling slow. Once more I see it wind with lights upholden On through the Sistine, on and far away; Once more I mark beneath its radiance golden Thy forehead shine, and, with it kindling say: Rehearsals dim were those, O friend: this hour Surely God's light it is that on thee rests in power.

II.

Again we met. We trod the fields and farms Of that fair isle, thy happy English home. We gazed upon blue sea and snowy foam Clipt in the jutting headland's woody arms: The year had reached the fullness of her charms. The Church's year from strength to strength increased Its zenith held—that great Assumption feast, Whose sun with annual joy the whole earth warms. That day how swiftly rushed from thy full heart Hope's glorying flood. How high thy fancy soared, Knowing, though far, once more thine England's crest A light to Christendom's old heaven restored. 'In a large room' thy heart its home had found; The land we trod that day to thee was holy ground.

III.

The world external knew thee but in part; It saw and honoured what was least in thee: The ways so winning yet so pure from art, The cordial reverence, keen to all desert-All save thine own: the accost so frank and free; The public zeal that toiled but not for fee, And shunned alike base praise and hirelings' mart. These things men saw: but deeper far than these, The under current of thy soul worked on, Unvexed by surface-ripple beam or breeze, And, unbeheld, its way to ocean won. Life of thy life was still that Christian Faith. The sophist scorns. It failed thee not in death.

¹¹ Of Aubrey De Vere Mr. Wilfrid Ward writes: 'To my mind the friend of Tennyson whose saintliness most completely had his sympathy, of whom Sarah Coleridge said that he had more entirely a poet's nature even than her own father or any other bir thempiete chelled Angly Collection, Haridwar

The following verses by my father I have chosen from a set of twelve poems of which Aubrey De Vere thought highly. He wrote of these: 'They are full of the sweetness and spirituality of his nature.' The poetry of these pieces seems to me for the most part very beautiful, as well as the sentiment, and many of the poems have a completeness, stateliness, and finish about them which show with what artistic skill he would have written if he had made the art a careful object of pursuit and given time to it:

To C. D. C. Vita Tibi.

Thou for whom alone I live,
Take the life thou didst retrieve
When 'twas shipwrecked and adrift.
Never was a worthless gift
Proffered with a heart more free,
'Vita tibi'—'Life to thee.'

Take it, dearest, 'tis thine own, Thine for ever, thine alone; Thou didst save it: keep it now, Help me to complete the vow Thou long since hast had from me Of 'Vita tibi'—'Life to thee.'

Awful words, if lightly said; Blessed words when heart and head, Weighing, knowing, feeling all, Yield themselves in willing thrall To their self-imposed decree Of 'Vita Tibi'—'Life to Thee.'

Take it; naught but life can pay
The debt I owe thee: day by day,
Hour by hour, each inmost thought
Tells of blessings thou hast brought
To the heart whose only plea
Is 'Vita Tibi'—'Life to Thee.'

Be it mine to watch and ward, Mine to be thy faithful guard; Strong in deep undying love, Thine to rest and let me prove How well kept the pledge shall be Of 'Vita Tibi'—'Life to Thee.'

I have many recollections of Cardinal Newman, Cardinal Manning, and Lord Tennyson, yet they seem slight in comparison with their significance for me, when it comes to writing them down. I shall never forget my first impression of Dr. Newman He was coming to stay with us for a day or two in London, and had formed all kinds of conceptions of his looks and ways.

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reality far exceeded the imagined, and I told my mother, rather to her surprise, that I thought he had an angel's face. I felt, I think, the spell of 'one of that small transfigured band which the world cannot tame.'

Dr. Newman gave me his 'Apologia pro vitâ suâ,' wrote my name in it, and the words, 'as a memorial for years to come that she may remember me in her good prayers.' From that time onward he never failed to remember my birthday or my saint's day. He had a remarkable memory and regard for anniversaries, just as Dr. Jowett had. On his own birthday he wrote in 1867, 'Birthdays are awful things now: as minute guns by night.' I heard his first sermon in London as Cardinal. His affection for Littlemore is well known. My mother took me there once, and I sent the Cardinal some little bits of the ilex from the garden. He was pleased with me, and wrote me a charming letter of thanks.

My mother and Cardinal Manning were close friends, and kept up a regular correspondence from about 1854 till his death Not the least part of a remarkable personal charm comes out in the humour-half playful, half ironical, with a quality of making the topic interesting, sometimes as it seemed in spite of itself-which flavoured his letters. I remember well, too, a way he had of characterising his acquaintance: the comments were punctuated by a telling pause and a sort of sniff. 'Good fellow,' he would say of Mr. So-and-so; 'Excellent fellow'; then the pause and the sniff; 'mute as a fish.' One realised hidden mysteries of unseen worth in Mr. So-and-so, and he remained pinned and labelled, as it were, like a specimen in one's mind. We often went to hear him preach, but admirable as they were held to be in matter, his sermons were harassed—to my mind—by the slow delivery, and their leisurely diffuseness. He had a habit of saying 'I now digress,' which was apt to cause confusion and even dismay in the minds and It meant that he had been souls of his congregation. visited by some radiant but irrelevant and misty inspiration, and these will-o'-the-wisps often led him a long way out of his course, and landed us nowhere in particular. In the days I am thinking of people were more patient of time in the pulpit, and I often wonder how Cardinal Manning's discourses would have fared in these days of twenty or even ten minutes' sermons. As a girl I often visited him in 'his lonely and sombre rooms,' as Mr. Purcell describes them, at Archbishop's House in York Place, Westminster, 12 which now exists no more. I see him so clearly in his

12 This was originally Cardinal Wiseman's house. The lease was purchased and presented to Cardinal Wiseman soon after his conversion by Miss Gladatone.

stone. Purcell, vol. vi. p. 257.
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rose-coloured cassock seated in a high-backed Italian chair: books stacked around on tables, chairs, and floor, the grey light from the tall, gaunt windows on his ascetic face, which at last became 80 attenuated that I always believed he denied himself food and fire to give to the poor he so greatly loved, and whom he helped without ceasing in a truly Apostolic way. He certainly retained for himself but the bare necessaries of life. He never kept any accounts: he called it writing epitaphs on dead money.

My recollections of Lord Tennyson are most vivid. very good to me just because I was my father's daughter, and would take me wonderful walks in London. These were attended with terrifying excitements; his sight was no longer very good. but impatient of any delay he would dash into the thickest traffic even in those days sufficiently alarming, to investigate the sooty buds inside the railings of some square gardens, or anything else that happened to take his fancy for the moment on the other side of the street. I proudly accompanied him to the first night of The Cup, where our pleasure was a little disturbed by his anxiety lest I should prefer The Corsican Brothers, which had preceded it. I was able to reassure him on this point, and I do not think he could have had a more enthusiastic companion. We went behind the scenes, after the performance, to visit Miss Ellen Terry, in her glorious robes, and to inspect the wonderful solid pillars of the Temple of Artemis—a masterpiece of stage art. I remember, too, like many others, the pleasure of his reading aloud. I never was in the least afraid of him, and I recollect his own distress at having dissolved a young lady into tears by taxing her with 'dividing her time between her baby and her looking-glass.'

This is not the place for dwelling on the close friendship which subsisted between the poet and my father, but many things at home bear witness to it. He gave my father the manuscript of It was on his birthday in the library at In Memoriam. Swainston that Tennyson asked him to reach him a book from As he did so, there fell out the manuscript of In

Memoriam, which he had put there as a surprise.

It is now the cherished possession of the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, to which it was given by my mother and

Hallam Tennyson in 1897.

One day at Farringford my father came upon the beautiful lyric 'O that 't were possible,' which had appeared years before in the Tribute, an ephemeral publication of the time. implored Tennyson to introduce it into a dramatic poem, and gave him no peace until he set about writing Maud. Swainston and its cedars claim the distinction that part of the poem was And it was pacing the garden walks of written there.13

At posses burial

¹³ Harold was written in my schoolroom in our house in Eaton Place, which the Tennysons மன்கும் இதையை பார்க்கிய Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Swainston on the morning of his friend's funeral that Tennyson composed the sonnet which shall end this paper. The sonnet is well known, but I shall surely be pardoned for quoting it at length:

J. S.

Nightingales warbled without, Within was weeping for thee: Shadows of three dead men Walk'd in the walks with me, Shadows of three dead men and thou Wast one of the three.

Nightingales sang in his woods:
The Master was far away:
Nightingales warbled and sang:
Of a passion that lasts but a day;
Still, in the house, in his coffin, the Prince
Of Courtesy lay.

Two dead men have I known
In courtesy like to thee:
Two dead men have I loved
With a love that ever will be:
Three dead men 15 have I loved and thou
Art last of the three.

At the foot of the sheet of manuscript, now my most precious possession, Lord Tennyson wrote: 'Made on the morning of the burial while I was walking in the garden.'

DOROTHEA GROSVENOR.

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¹⁴ The writer is enabled to do this by the kind permission of Messrs. Macmillan.

¹⁸ Arthur Hallam, Henry Lushington, and John Simeon.

THE CONTROL OF BRITISH POLAR RESEARCH

ACCORDING to the news received from Captain Amundsen it appears that he attained the South Pole between the 14th and the 17th of December 1911. I am not going to pass any comments on his attainment of the Pole, but it would be well for my readers to bear in mind the circumstances which have led up to this achievement, and thus to judge for themselves what motives he had in view.

In December 1908 a cordial invitation appeared in the Royal Geographical Society's Journal inviting Captain Amundsen to this country, and it was followed by a gift of 1001. This was the first step towards funds for his projected expedition into the Arctic Ocean. It enabled him to go back to his own country and report to the Storthing in Christiania what the English Geographical Society thought of him and his project. Furthermore, on the strength of his representations he received a substantial sum from his own Government, and eventually collected sufficient money to enable him to start—as was supposed—into the Arctic Ocean.

The first news of his change of plans was sent from Madeira in August 1910, and it was announced in the following April that he intended to sail south The first news of his presence in the Antarctic regions came from Captain Scott, who found the Frank in the Bay of Whales (or as marked on the maps, Balloon Bight) in February 1911. The preparations for his journey were evidently made before leaving Norway, and the secret which surrounded them, in these circumstances, to say the least of it, was not in keeping with the best sporting traditions of this country. It appears from a letter published in the Times that Captain Amundsen had the intention of going south instead of north as far back as September 1909. In that same letter he gives his reasons for his action, which are that he had not enough money for the North Polar Expedition, and that if he could attain the South Pole his Government and people would give him enough for his projected journey north.

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¹ The Daily Chronicle, March 8, 1912.

² Geographical Journal, December 1908.

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Looking at the Antarctic regions on the map, one is impressed by the blank appearance of this supposed great continent. Here and there appears the name of some great explorer, who has penetrated into the unknown, and either sighted land or landed upon the shore. In one place in particular there is a little cluster of names, all English, and two, especially dear to the heart of an Englishman—namely, Victoria Land and King Edward the Seventh's Land.

When we come to read the account of Captain Amundsen's journey to the Pole, as it appeared in the Daily Chronicle, we are struck by the ease with which he appears to have accomplished his journey. There is no doubt that he has added much to our knowledge of that region, but it is only what we expected to find from the journey already made by Sir Ernest Shackleton. It might have benefited our geographical knowledge more if Captain Amundsen had landed upon some unknown part of the Antarctic Continent, and we may safely conclude that there is land in 16° east longitude. I pick out this spot because it would be directly opposite and on the same meridian as 164° west longitude. Judging from the magnificent journey he made, one is led to think he could have cut out a route for himself, from the seaboard to the Pole, and gained credit for a genuine piece of original work.

The results of Captain Amundsen's journey may be summarised by saying that he has determined the extent of the Great Ice Barrier, and explored the area between the Great Ice Barrier and the Pole, a distance of 870 statute miles from his winter quarters. It will be remembered that his winter quarters were built in

latitude 78° 40' south and longitude 164° west.

It appears, however, that Captain Amundsen has not yet achieved his chief object. If reports be true, he intends to drift the Fram across the Arctic Ocean. On this subject I was allowed to express my views in this Review in April 1909.

The object of the present article is to show that Great Britain has been left behind the rest of the world in Polar research, and

to put before the public the reasons for such a statement.

British exploration work is mostly the result of private enterprise, but, even so, it is better that there should be at the back of the movement either an organisation under the control of a body of individuals grouped together for the special object, or one of the societies established for the purpose. In England we are accustomed to look to the Royal Geographical Society to take the lead in such matters. It has a large revenue out of which payments are made in furthering the cause of geographical research and in awards for services rendered to science, and, owing to its opportunities and connexion, it is eminently fitted for the work.

I believe that I am correct in saying that the present expert advisers of the Council in Polar matters are Sir Clements Mark. ham, who served in the Franklin Relief Expedition in 1850-51, and the surviving members of the Nares Expedition, which was despatched to the Arctic in 1875 and returned in 1876, since which date the majority of these explorers have had no practical experience of Polar travelling. The control of the country's Polar policy may be said, therefore, to rest with a body of explorers who for over thirty years have not seen an icefield, and this body is sufficiently influential to enforce its opinions with the authority of the laws of the Medes and Persians. To leave our national interests in Polar research in the hands of such a body is much the same as if we were to place the command of our army at the present time in the hands of a man who had been distinguished as a General over thirty years ago, but has since had no practical, but only theoretical, experience. This comparison seems to me to be apt, as the last thirty years show a proportionate improvement both in Polar and military equipment and methods.

I gladly give the members of the Nares Expedition full credit for what was at that time a fine achievement, as they reached latitude 83° 20′, a distance from the North Pole of just inside 400 miles. This was done in spite of severe hardships and illness, but it is doubtful whether, even though there had been no sickness among the members of the sledge party who reached the above point, the equipment of the party was sufficient to lead one to think that it could ever have reached the Pole. Admiral Sir A. H. Markham, the Commander of the Alert, one of the ships engaged on that expedition, reported on his return, as follows: ⁵

I am convinced that with the very lightest equipped sledges, carrying no boats, and with all the resources of the ship concentrated in the one direction, and also supposing that perfect health might be maintained, the latitude attained by the party I had the honour and pleasure of commanding would not be exceeded by many miles, certainly not by a degree.

This view was supported by Captain Nares, and presumably it was the general opinion of the responsible members of the Expedition. Captain Nares says: ⁶

Markham's journey . . . proves that a lengthened journey over the Polar pack-ice with a sledge party equipped with a boat fit for navigable purposes is impracticable at any season of the year.

The Nares Expedition left with Great Britain the record for the Farthest North, which she had held for three centuries, having during that period continually improved her own record. As we

> 5 Voyage to the Polar Sea, Vol. i. p. 395. 6 Ibid CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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were within so short a distance of the Pole, it was only natural that other countries with an Arctic record should struggle to reach it first, but it seems unintelligible that we, as a nation, should suddenly have dropped out entirely from the contest and have taken no steps to regain our position, especially when the experiences of first one and then another of our rivals showed that the opinion formed by the leaders of the Nares Expedition was wrong. As a fact, the record established by the Nares Expedition has been beaten not less than five times in the space of less than a quarter of a century. The following table makes this clear:

Nares ⁷	British	83° 20′ 26″	May 1876
	American	83° 24′	May 1882
	Norwegian	86° 13′	April 1895
	Italian	86° 34′	April 1900
	American	87° 6′	April 1906
	American	90°	April 1909

In spite of all the successive achievements mentioned above, the Royal Geographical Society has taken no steps to put a British Arctic Expedition into the field.

It is impossible to believe that the survivors of the Nares Expedition were lacking in patriotic desire that their successors should accomplish what they themselves had failed to do, or that the North Pole had suddenly lost its fascination after so many centuries, or that there had arisen in the country a feeling, whether induced by modesty or generosity, that we no longer wished to monopolise the record for the Farthest North; but at any rate there was a sudden termination of all British Arctic exploration, the chief reason for which appears to have been that the body of experts which ruled the Council of the Society did not or would not realise that there were other ways of attacking the Pole than along a route which they had found impracticable. The actual personal experience of the Arctic authorities in the Society formed an argument which might have carried weight with the Council until the return of Nansen's Expedition, as neither the De Long Expedition in the Jeanette nor the Greely Expedition (the only two of any importance between the Nares Expedition and Nansen's) gave any indication that the opinion formed by the leaders of the Nares Expedition was not justified.

Nansen's Expedition marked a new era in Polar exploration. His scheme did not find favour with the experts of the Society.

Voyage to the Polar Sea, vol. i. p. 377.

8 Handbook of Polar Discoveries, by Greely, p. 231.

Nansen's Farthest North, vol. ii. p. 142. 10 On the Pole Star in the Arctic Sea, p. 492.

11 Nearest the Pole, by Peary, p. 134 12 The North Pole, by Peary, p. 257. It was, no doubt, a bold one, and not conventional, and there was no precedent by which the chances of its success or failure could be judged, and, as every public body has to be careful not to make mistakes, there may have been some justification for the hesitation of the experts in advising the Council to give its support to such an absolutely untried experiment. When, however, on the return of the expedition, it was found that Nansen had reached a point nearly three degrees further north than the leaders of the Nares Expedition declared to be possible of attainment by even the best equipped expedition. that he had done so with only one companion and a few dogs, that the sledge journey was made over rough pack-ice such as the Nares Expedition had encountered, and that no instance of scurvy had occurred among the members of the expedition during the entire period of their sojourn in the Frozen North, surely it was full time that the Society should have moved with the view to considering the advisability of despatching another expedition to the Arctic Regions, taking advantage of the experience gained by Nansen. The latter was given a wellmerited special medal of the Society, and with this graceful but not arduous duty the temporarily revived Polar enthusiasm of the Council appears to have died down again.

To show that Nansen's ice journey was not 'a flash in the pan' in Arctic travelling, we find a few years later an even longer sledge journey over the Polar pack-ice made by Captain Cagni, of the Duke of Abruzzi's Italian Expedition, who covered a distance of five degrees of latitude over the ice. Captain Cagni started on this ice journey some distance to the south of the point at which the Nares Expedition took the ice, but beat the latter's record by over three degrees. This expedition was of great value in confirming the fact that the most, if not only, practicable way of attempting to reach the North Pole

was by sledge.

Finally, we come to Peary. If Nansen's Expedition created a new era in Polar exploration, Peary's exploits have created another, and his last expedition to the North Pole has brought forward more prominently than any other set of circumstances could have done the ground lost by Great Britain in Arctic work.

Extremes meet in comparing Peary's work with the Society's inactivity during the same period. I would ask the Society's advisers to note how Peary spent years in studying on the spot not only the ice problems of the Arctic Regions, but also the Eskimo, upon whose help he meant ultimately to depend for carrying out his project for reaching the North Pole, and in learning their language. His experience of the Frozen North extended from 1886 to 1909, during which period he passed eight

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winters and nearly twice as many summers in the Arctic Regions. No detail which could be advantageously improved upon, whether in equipment or otherwise, appears to have been too small to take trouble about. Nobody grudges Peary his title to be the discoverer of the North Pole, for no one has devoted to the subject any appreciable part of the time and trouble that he has done; but, however much we feel that Peary genuinely deserves the honour, we cannot, in the circumstances, help feeling a keen regret that steps were not taken to gain the honour for Great Britain. Peary's telegram announcing that he had secured the North Pole for America caused a painful sensation throughout the British Empire, as the most lethargic of our countrymen knew that the English had been looked upon for centuries as the pioneers of the Arctic Regions. I believe that I represent a not inconsiderable body of public opinion, both inside and outside the Society, when I say that in the matter of Arctic work the Royal Geographical Society 'has been weighed in the balance and found wanting.'

I find the sum total of the Royal Geographical Society's active British Polar work during the last thirty years appears to be, (1) the *Discovery* Expedition to the Antarctic, the value of which seems to be out of all proportion to its cost, and (2) the expedition at present in the field under the same commander. The following list shows the grants made, since the return of

the Nares Expedition, to Polar Explorers:

		±	S.	a.	
1882	Eira Relief Expedition	1000	0	0	
1892	Dr. Nansen's Arctic Expedition	300	0	0	
1896	Sir Martin Conway (Spitzbergen)	300	0	0	
1901	National Antarctic Expedition	5000	0	0	
1902	National Antarctic Expedition	3000	0	0	
1903	Captain R. Amundsen's Arctic Expedition	100	0	0	
1906	E. Mikkelsen's Arctic Expedition .	200	0	0	
1906	E. Mikkelsen's Arctic Expedition .	46	0	0	
1908	E. Mikkelsen's Arctic Expedition .	126	11	2	
1909	Captain R. Amundsen's Arctic Expedition	100	0	0	
1910	National Antarctic Expedition	500	0	0	
1911	National Antarctic Expedition	1000	0	0	
-	Dr. Mawson's Antarctic Expedition .	500	0	0	

The grants of money, therefore, have been made as follows:

1.	To Captain Scott's two Antarctic Expeditions		£9500
4.	To British Polar Explorers	-	1800
٥.	To Foreign Arctic Explorers		872

In endeavouring to arrive at a reason for the Society's inaction in the matter of Polar research, I am driven to the conclusion that their experts have the conviction that none but

their own nominees should be sent out in charge of any expedition to either Pole. If this be so, the Poles are 'close boroughs' of the experts, and I have formed the impression that the Society favours Naval men only as their nominees for this purpose.

In common with all my countrymen, I have the deepest respect for our Navy, and would as soon have the 'handy man' as anyone else with me when difficulties have to be faced, but an officer who is keen on his work and wishes to rise in his profession is not always ready to throw up his prospects to take the command of such an expedition. Assuming his safe return, covered with glory, he resumes his place in the service, and, though he has been out of touch with his profession for some years, he may return to be placed over the heads of men who have continued working and are up to every new move in the naval game. Polar work, although a fine experience for any seafaring man, can in no circumstances be considered as an assistance in the highly technical education which a naval man of the present day requires, and promotion for duties of such a character is not popular in the Navy, nor is it in the interest of the service.

As to the command of Polar expeditions being entrusted to naval men, I grant that, when a ship is despatched to either Polar Sea, the ship must be in command of a seaman, but the Royal Navy has not the monopoly of the knowledge suitable for such an expedition. I contend that in the Polar regions the men best suited for such work are captains of whaling ships, some of whom have spent their lives within the Arctic Circle, and have had opportunities of experience which Naval Officers cannot acquire. Neither Nansen nor Captain Bartlett was a member of his country's navy, though Lockwood and Cagni were, yet the work done by the former two is enough to show that, if other nations can succeed without the services of their naval men, it is worth while for us, too, to give the experiment a trial. Peary, though an engineer in the United States Navy, appears to have done but little active service in it.

In support of my 'close borough' theory I will give three

First, Dr. W. S. Bruce went to the Antarctic before Captain Scott, and did remarkably fine work. He sailed in the Balana, as naturalist, in 1892, and reached nearly 68° south latitude. An account of this voyage appeared in the Geographical Journal, May 1896. Moreover, he acted as zoologist to the Jackson Harmsworth Expedition to Franz Josef Land, as well as to Major Andrew Coats' Expedition to Nova Zembla and Barent's Sea. He has received no support from the Royal Geographical CC-0. In Public Domain. Gertikul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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Society, unless their awards can be so termed. It must be remembered that Dr. Bruce's plan of exploration was a much better one than Captain Scott's, and would have been a great conquest if it could have been carried out.

Dr. Bruce discovered Coats' Land in the Scotia Expedition, and after his return his plans, as given in the Scottish Geographical Magazine, were to establish two bases, one on Coats' Land and the other at the western end of Ross' Great Ice Barrier, and to start a party from each base which were to meet at the South Pole. In this way Dr. Bruce thought it would be possible to explore the Antarctic Continent from Coats' Land to the Ross Sea. Unfortunately, this project, like so many others, was not considered possible by the Polar experts of this country. With my knowledge of Polar exploration, I am sure that such journeys were quite possible, if attempted by Polar explorers of experience, and we have Captain Amundsen's journey before us, which rather tends to show that Dr. Bruce was quite right. Unfortunately, if anyone submits original plans to the expert advisers of the Royal Geographical Society on Polar matters, he is at once subjected to objections such as were given to Dr. Nansen.

Dr. Bruce also went out in command of the Scottish Expedition on board the Scotia at the same time as Captain Scott went in the Discovery. Surely there was ample work for two expeditions from this country, and although the Scotia Expedition had no funds to be compared with those of the Discovery, it carried out useful scientific research in the Weddell Sea.

Secondly, Sir Ernest Shackleton, who succeeded Captain Scott as a South Polar explorer, received no support from the Society other than the loan of an instrument, and why? Presumably, because he was not one of their nominees. On his return the Society killed the fatted calf for him, and partook of the meat, but history does not say whether the meat was palatable.

Thirdly, no better illustration can be brought forward than that of the late Mr. David Hanbury. It is probable that few people have heard of Mr. David Hanbury as a Polar explorer, but to my mind he did some of the best work of modern times. He was by nature a Polar explorer, he had learned how to use snow-shoes, how to build snow houses, how to clothe himself and how to feed himself in the Polar regions, and, above all, how to drive dogs. These appear very simple accomplishments, but they take a long time to acquire, and every leader of a Polar expedition should have this knowledge. The man who can construct snow houses easily and quickly—a most difficult accomplishment—gets his proper rest at night, because he can keep

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as to rent's warm, and is fit to work during the day. Dogs are the only means of locomotion really valuable in the Polar regions. They go on top of the snow, where men without snow-shoes, ponies and motor sledges sink in. I have never tried motor sledges in the Polar regions, but I should think they would be about as much use as the balloon was to the *Discovery* Expedition.

Mr. David Hanbury started away from Great Slave Lake with nothing but his rifles, his fish nets and a small canoe. He travelled through the barren lands of Northern Canada to Chesterfield Inlet, and from there to the Arctic Coast, along that coast to the Coppermine River, and then across Bear Lake to the Mackenzie. He was away for two years, and lived most of the time with the Eskimo, and undoubtedly this journey was accomplished on the knowledge he had previously gained from the Eskimo. He made many journeys into the Arctic regions and at his own expense, but he never went as far north as the survivors of the Nares Expedition, although he made journeys that none of them could have accomplished. remembered in Northern Canada as a traveller, and had the makings of one of the greatest Polar explorers that England has ever produced, but the Society sent round no appeal for funds on his behalf, nor encouraged him in any way, and, probably, never took the trouble to make any inquiry about him in those parts where his records were known, with the result that he retired from Polar exploration, and died last year. He was just in his prime when Captain Scott got command of the Discovery, and would have been, in my opinion, a splendid man to have had such a position.

On my previous expedition to the Arctic regions I heard nothing but good of his work, and the Eskimo would have followed him implicitly. The leaders of the Nares Expedition however, held that the Eskimo were timid, and they consequently refused to employ them on their sledge journeys over the ice on that expedition. Presumably, they also thought that their opinion of Mr. Hanbury was not worth having, nor would it be if it were only the Eskimo who thought highly of his work.

I have given only three instances, and there were many men who were well fitted by experience to take the command of the National Antarctic Expedition. Let us now look at the experience of the man nominated or chosen by the Royal Georgraphical Society, and we cannot do better than take his own words out of l is book, The Voyage of the Discovery. 13

I may as well confess at once that I had no predilection for Polar exploration, and hat my story is exceedingly tame, but such as it is it shows

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how curiously the course of one's life may be turned. I suppose the tale how currously the starts in 1887, when Sir Clements Markham, then the guest of his really states in the Commodore of the Training Squadron, made himself the cousin, the course of every midshipman in the four ships which composed personal trick became one of those midshipmen and first made his acquaintit, and when I became one of those midshipmen and first made his acquaintance. But there is a long interregnum—until 1899, in fact; in that year I was serving as first lieutenant of the Majestic, then flagship to the Channel Squadron. Early in June I was spending my short leave in London, and chancing one day to walk down the Buckingham Palace Road, I espied Sir Clements on the opposite pavement, and naturally crossed, and as naturally turned and accompanied him to his house. That afternoon I learned for the first time that there was such a thing as a prospective Antarctic expedition; two days later I wrote applying to command it, and a year after that I was officially appointed.

It is quite possible that Captain Scott is as good a man as could be chosen for the command of an Antarctic Expedition. He has energy, resource, and qualities of a leader of men, and he may have achieved success in his present undertaking. For aught we know, he may have attained the South Pole before Captain Amundsen, and have remained in the Polar regions to complete his scientific investigations. If such is the case Englishmen will rejoice, and no one more than the present writer. But if this happily turns out to be the case, which it seems to me is highly improbable, the happy result is due to accident rather than to any scientific selection of men on the part of the Royal Geographical Society.

In appointing leaders to uphold British prestige the Royal Geographical Society proceeds on lines which are very different from the manner of acting in other countries, and are totally at variance with the best traditions of English exploration. Other countries take up and support the men who have already shown that they are born with that love of adventure and attraction for ice work which marks the true explorer. The Royal Geographical Society passes such an independent and enthusiastic spirit by, as not being its own creation. Nay more, it actually

opposes and checks the efforts of such men.

There are half a dozen men in England, as I have shown, who have displayed all the spirit and determination of the early heroes of the ice field. In the days when individual enterprise was less trammelled by bureaucracy they would have won the support of those of their countrymen who were interested in exploration, but the chances of such support are no longer available. The Royal Geographical Society, with its widespread organisation and command of resources, is able to subordinate or efface the private adventurer. The man of rough, practical manner, who is a fool before a Committee, but is at home in the wilds of the frozen North or South, has no chance of support He will be passed from the expert explorers of Savile Row.

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r explo t shows over, if not scorned, and some young man of equal ambition and greater influence who is anxious to win his spurs will be chosen instead, advertised, and presented to the public with all the resource and journalistic influence which the Geographical Society possesses.

It is an invidious task to point out abuses of this kind which are almost necessarily inherent, to some extent, in all societies which try to direct arduous enterprises from the comfortable atmosphere of a London clubroom. But someone must speak out. If the methods of the Royal Geographical Society are continued, the chance of Great Britain ever recovering her leading position in the world of exploration will be lost. There will be talk, advertisement, the collection of funds, and all the outward appearance of energy and effort, but the man at the helm, the pilot who is to put the British ship first in the International race, will always be the wrong man, who was not chosen by nature for the post, but by the Royal Geographical Society.

ALFRED H. HARRISON.

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ORATORIO VERSUS OPERA

MUSICAL London, or that section of London society which considers itself to be par excellence such, seems to have settled to its own satisfaction that Oratorio is only an entertainment for the The prejudice was in existence in fashionable society as long ago as the time of Handel; witness the sneering remarks of Horace Walpole, the fugleman of the précieux world of his day, at the oratorio performances which, he implied, no one of any consequence ever attended, and where they had 'a man with one note in his voice, and a girl with never a one,' to sing the solos. If the 'man with one note' was Beard, for whom Handel wrote the tenor solos in Samson, 'Horry' was certainly wrong in his facts, for a mere glance at the music is enough to show that the singer for whom it was intended must have been an executant of no ordinary powers, though probably not the equal of the Crescentinis and the Senesinos, who had been the idols of the opera audiences; not to mention Farinelli, who, even among these latter, obviously stood alone and unapproached. But Horace Walpole's sneer at Handel's oratorios was probably motived not so much by any pretence to superior musical insight as by the perception that they were not reckoned among the chosen amusements of the fashionable world to which he belonged, and were. therefore, outside of his circle of interests. They were a kind of entertainment for the vulgar who knew no better.

Not so very long ago—within the memory of people who are not very old—Oratorio had conquered a more important position than this in musical England; even in musical London. The oratorio performances at Exeter Hall in the great days of the Sacred Harmonic Society, with Costa as conductor, with a band of one hundred, and a chorus of some six hundred (about the ideal numbers for effective performance of choral works) were regarded as important events in the musical world, which might be attended without involving any confession of mediocrity in musical perception; they formed an annual series of concerts to be looked on with as much respect, in their way, as the annual series of the Philharmonic Society's concerts. Now all this has changed; the Sacred Harmonic Society has ceased to exist, for lack presumably of public support, and with the exception of the occasional and

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rather unequal performances of the Handel Society, oratorios seem to be now only given as a bonus to the religious public, to provide them at Christmas and in Lent with a form of musical entertain. ment which may appear to them to constitute, in some sort, part of the religious observance of the season.

We have come round again, in short, pretty much to Horace Walpole's position of regarding Oratorio as an entertainment for the middle classes; but though the resultant position is the same. the reasons at the back of it are probably not quite the same Opera, though less of an exclusive function for the upper ten thousand than it used to be, is still, no doubt, to many, the most fashionable form of musical entertainment; it is in this country (where there are no subsidised opera houses) still an amusement within the reach of the comparatively rich only; it is a function at which beauty and her equipment can be displayed with more effect than in a concert-room. But the present indifference to or contempt for Oratorio in comparison with Opera is not the product only of what may be called fashionable fashion, it is that of musical fashion also; it is the opinion or the feeling of people who claim to be more or less specially musical, and to consider music from a critical point of view. And the question propounded here is, whether this is not altogether an æsthetic mistake; whether Oratorio, considered in the abstract, is not really a higher and more intellectual artistic form than Opera; whether some existing oratorios are not greater works than any opera that has been produced so far.

Of course it may be admitted at once that Opera is a more exciting form of musical entertainment than Oratorio. But if we consider the matter impartially, I think it will be found that this more exciting character resides in an appeal to the senses rather than to the intellect. The accompaniment of scenic effect pleases another sense besides the ear, and has sometimes the element of a surprise in it; but it has also the element in it of ocular deception, often very imperfect—objects, according to a criticism at an Oxford theatrical representation, 'too obviously in two dimensions'; whereas the suggestions and the beauties of the music, taken by itself, are genuine as far as they go, and appeal to the intellect as imitation scenery certainly does not. Grouping of beautiful and effective costumes is a genuine artistic effect, and which we cannot generally get in real life, though the numerous pageants of late years have afforded us that form enjoyment to some extent. As to acting, nothing in the way of acting which can be of any intellectual interest or of any real of life-like power is possible in Opera. Critics talk about the acting of this singer being good, and that of the other one bad, but the difference is a very conventional one. Sung drama, even when

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as in Wagner's operas, and those of the contemporary French school, the artificial aria form is discarded, is so far removed from anything in real life that the true function of acting in 'holding the mirror up to Nature 'cannot be realised; the nearest possible approach to it can only amount to the emphasis of the vocal declamation by appropriate and effective gesture. The opportunity afforded to the singer of singing without a book in his hand and of being free to add expressive gesture to his delivery of the music is no doubt one of the advantages to be claimed by Opera, where the music itself is of a dramatic, and what may be called a personal character; there is a great difference in effect between 'Voi che sapete' sung in a drawing-room, and the same air delivered by the love-sick youth on the stage. But not in all cases can the advantage of accompanying singing by gesture be equally The higher and more serious in style is the music, and the more abstract and impersonal the sentiment, the less room is there for expression by means of gesture. 'Voi che sapete' or 'Non più andrai 'may gain by gesture; 'Qui sdegno 'would not; it is too abstract, and no gesture could be added to it but would be an impertinence and a weakening of its effect. same may be said of that infinitely pathetic tenor air in Fidelio, the lament of the imprisoned Florestan over his wasted life. Given the situation, the full pathos of the air can be brought out in the concert-room; the sham shackles and the painted canvas walls, and the insignia of the scenic dungeon add nothing to it; in its place in the opera they are necessary to keep up the illusion of the acted story, but it is the poignant pathos of the music that goes to our hearts; the scenic accessories are but the tinsel of the stage, and are beneath the level of the music; and many other instances might be quoted to the same effect. On the other hand, take an impassioned song written for the concert-room, such as Beethoven's scena, 'Ah Perfido'; can one seriously imagine anything added to the pathos of that by its being sung in costume, with gesticulation, amid surroundings of paste-board scenery? The question answers itself.

Do you not care for Opera, then?' the reader may be supposed to ask. Yes; I enjoy Opera keenly, as a brilliant and attractive combination of music and scenic and costume effects; I do not add 'and acting,' because, as observed above, I think acting, in the true sense in which it has any intellectual interest, is in the true sense in which it has any intellectual interest, is impossible in Opera. The adequate acting of such plays as Hamlet, Othello, and Lear (if indeed Lear ever can be adequately acted) makes a higher appeal to the intellect than anything of which Opera is capable. But, putting the acting out of the question tion, regarding Opera as a brilliant combination of musical and scenic effect, more exciting and attractive to the senses than any

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other form of musical art, I deny that it represents the highest use to which music can be put, or the one which appeals most to the imagination. It is inferior in this sense both to Symphony and to Oratorio; but the comparison with Oratorio is the more obvious one to make, since both that and Opera depend on the spoken word as their basis; both undertake to give musical illus tration, by means of vocal and instrumental music combined, to a story in which characters and situation are illustrated and partly described by music. In Oratorio we depend entirely on the characterisation given by the music; the aspect of the scenes and personages, the nature of the incidents in the narrative, is only suggested to the imagination by the music. In Opera the scenes and the personages are represented to the sense of sight by artificial means of which the artificiality is always obvious enough In consequence, music in Opera is no longer a purely abstract art addressed to the imagination; it is clogged with the accompaniment of an inadequate and rather tawdry realism. The result, be it admitted, is brilliant and captivating to the senses, especially of those whose imaginative faculties are somewhat sluggish; but, as already suggested, the loftier the quality of the music, the less it seems to blend with or to require the pasteboard and tinsel at of the scenic setting.

And it is rather curious to consider, in this connexion, that with all the popularity of Opera in the London musical world, it does not after all appear that it is the best and finest operas, in 8 purely musical sense, that are wanted. If it were, their production would pay; and if it would pay, they would be produced. How is it that there are only two operas of Mozart's that we ever hear of at all, and those two, and Beethoven's one opera, only at long and uncertain intervals; that Die Zäuberflöte might almost as well never have been written; that Il Seraglio, which surprised everyone by its beauty some thirty years ago, has been shelved ever since; that Cherubini's monumental work, Medea, has nevel been attempted since about the same period of time; that po attempt is ever made at Euryanthe (a far greater work than Det Freischütz); that Rossini's Barbière can be produced, while Guillaume Tell, which, whatever we may think of its school, is its way a great work, is almost entirely neglected; that we needed the example of the Paris Opéra to bring about a kind grudging recognition of Gluck's Armide, while we see announced the frequent repetition of the lighter work of Puccini, and other of the modern school. of the modern school? If the great classic operas mentioned dear to the public, they would be frequently given, for it would be profitable to give the be profitable to give them. Obviously they are not in demandant Oratorio is thought dull. Evidently classic Opera is dull also What is wented in the state of th What is wanted is amusement and novelty. It is a perfect! What is Communic Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar legitin

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legitimate want; only it must not be mistaken for a craving for what is highest and most serious in musical art.

And, after all, can Opera best supply such a craving where it exists? The drawback to all serious Opera, professing to represent the tragedy and pathos of human life, is that feeling of unreality which is inseparable from it, arising partly from the incongruity in the representation of men and women expressing their feelings in a medium so far removed from the realities of human life; partly from the puerile suggestiveness of stage machinery. Hence the most unqualified successes of Opera, as Opera, have lain either in comedy or in supernatural legend. In comedy we are content to enjoy the humour of the musical characterisation without being called upon to take it seriously; in supernatural legend the whole thing is so far removed from real life that we cease to feel the incongruity of its terror or pathos. In Don Giovanni, the greatest of operas, we have both elements. Nothing in the way of humour could be more subtle and intellectual than Mozart's treatment of such scenes as that in which Leporello banters Elvira on the subject of her lover's infidelities, or that of Don Giovanni's mock serenade, with its spirituel contrast between the passionate beauty of the voice part and the mocking piquancy of the accompaniment (what a contrast to Wagner's elephantine attempts at humour over Beckmesser!); and in the statue scene at the close we have that kind of picturesque supernaturalism which perhaps could only be adequately treated in Opera; which at any rate presents nothing incongruous with serious musical treatment and with scenic effect. But with the musically highest class of serious Opera, dealing ostensibly with human life, it comes really to this, that we go to it for the sake of the music, and accept the costumes and the stage machinery as something incidental which does not affect us much, and which we feel in many cases to be below the level of the music. We can hardly help feeling, in some portions of Mozart's operas, as in the second finale in Don Giovanni, and in the final scene in Figaro, that he has lavished splendid music on situations that are not worth it, and that the divine art is, if not degraded, at any rate misplaced in connexion with them. Wagner, though he had not an ounce of humour in his composition, recognised rightly that legend was the real atmosphere for serious Opera, and his music in its stronger as well as in its weaker elements just suits his libretti and his stage machinery; even the vulgar blaring of the 'Ride of the Walkyrie,' which has absurdly been transferred to the concert-room, is quite good enough to accompany the passage of a string of spectacular rocking-horses. But when one hears people talking of this kind of production as if it had a

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ıll also erfectly deep moral and poetic significance, one can only regard them as so many grown-up children.

When we quit legend and comedy, and come to the problem of the musical treatment, by voices and instruments combined, of epic or dramatic narrative of serious significance, it is here that Oratorio comes to the rescue, and furnishes the opportunity for the painting of incident and the expression of character, freed both from the disproportionate costliness of the operatic stage. and from the prosaic and yet incomplete realism of stage machinery and scenery in two dimensions. Oratorio, speaking not only through the lips of the 'blest pair of Sirens, Voice and Verse,' but with the added colour and emphasis derived from orchestral accompaniment, appeals far more to the imagination than any opera, provided the hearer brings imagination of his own to meet its suggestions. And it has, in a purely musical sense, this great advantage over Opera, that its conditions can allow of the full development of an air or a chorus in complete musical form, without raising that question of the logical inconsistency of checking the course of acted drama at a critical moment, in order to allow the hero or heroine to express their feelings in a lengthened solo, which has been the constant stumbling-block of the higher criticism in regard to Opera. Not that the treatment of Opera in recitative commensurate with the progress of the wording is necessarily more dramatic, in the higher sense of the word, than Opera in which characters and situations are illustrated by the interpolation of complete compositions in extended form. All Opera is a convention; the Mozart form is one convention, that of Wagner and of the contemporary French Opera composers is another; we have only to settle which convention we prefer to abide by; and dramatic power, in the characterisation of a personage by music, may be just as well shown in the one form as in the other. Mozart, as a matter of fact, is ten times more dramatic than Wagner, in that the music he writes for a character seems to be the natural and spontaneous expression of that character, as by a kind of inspiration, while Wagner's leit-motiv labels produce rather the impression of having been arbitrarily chosen; they do not in themselves express character, they only notify the presence or the entrance of a special personage to whom a special phrase belongs, by which he is, as it were, hall-marked Still, the discrepancy between the assumed progress of the action, and the arresting of it at intervals for the delivery of a long musical composition, in the old school of Opera, does afford a handle for criticism, and is a stumbling-block to those who would have art geometrically logical. Now from this dilemma the Oratorio form sets us free. Since there is no represented action, but only poetic narrative, generally speaking rather epic than dramatic in CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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its nature, the musician is at liberty to develop his art fully in formal composition of chorus and air, without exposing himself to the criticism that he is arresting the action in doing so, since there is no action to arrest. As to the frequent repetition of the same words in the course of an air or chorus, if any reader is really so befogged in his mind as to the respective functions of music and poetry as to think it worth while to raise a question on the subject, it would perhaps be useless to argue with him, but he had better read Matthew Arnold's Epilogue to Lessing's Laocöon, where the philosophy of the matter is as convincingly expressed and illustrated, in a few lines, as it well could be.

Under the head of 'Oratorio' I am including not merely the generally recognised sacred oratorios, but all compositions of considerable length, and in various movements, for chorus, solo voices, and orchestra, whether supposed to be sacred or not; cantatas, motets, etc.; and also the concert-room performance of Masses by the great composers, for these come in a musical sense under the same head, and are performed with the same object. Devout Catholics, I believe, rather object to this transference to the concert-room of music for what they regard as the most solemn rite of their worship; but as no religious rite is simulated or travestied in the performance of the music of a Mass in the concert-room, and it is listened to and regarded as sacred music, it does not seem that Catholics have any right to demonstrate against such performances, further than by declining to attend them, if their

conscience is uneasy on the subject.

The fact that the class of production entitled 'Oratorio' probably first derived its name from the performances of sacred music in the oratory of a church, has rather stamped it by tradition as a form of composition dealing especially with sacred subjects, but there is no reason in its nature for such a limitation. Handel, indeed, in his Alexander's Feast, Hercules, and other works, has shown how successfully it may be used for the treatment of purely secular subjects; and Judas Maccabeus, in spite of its Hallelujah Chorus at the end, and its frequent references to the Almighty as the Protector of the chosen people, is rather a martial than a religious oratorio. It is, however, in the treatment of sacred subjects that Oratorio composers have risen highest. Whatever the fluctuations of religious opinion and belief in different generations, subjects which deal with religious history and with the spiritual side of human life have had the power to evoke the highest and most serious efforts of the great composers of Oratorio, Just as religious enthusiasm in the Middle Ages evoked the greatest triumphs of architecture, insomuch that one may say that without religion religion mediæval architecture would hardly have existed. as the cathedrals still impress us, in days of a very different

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torio only ic in religious creed, with something of the spiritual aspiration out of which they arose, so the religious oratorios of the great composers however out-of-date, in some sense, the creed which they illustrate still impress us as efforts to give expression in music to the spiritual aspiration of humanity. For the greatest of these works were not written in any merely perfunctory spirit of composition. Handel of whose genuine religious fervour there is abundant evidence is nowhere so great as in the two oratorios taken entirely from the words of the Bible-Israel in Egypt and Messiah. Bach's St. Matthew Passion and St. John Passion, and of course his Mass (the greatest work of the three), were actually written for religious services. Mozart put the most serious and pathetic work of his lifetime into the Requiem which he believed he was writing for himself. Mendelssohn unquestionably wrote Elijah and St. Paul with a feeling which came from the heart, or he could never have had such inspirations as 'O great is the depth' and 'Be thou faithful' in St. Paul, or the 'Holy, Holy,' in Elijah. And religious aspiration in a new and wider form might still be the moving spirit of new productions in Oratorio:

> Why, where's the need of Temple, when the walls O' the world are that? What use of swells and falls From Levites choir, Priests' cries and trumpet-calls?

That one face, far from vanish, rather grows, Or decomposes but to recompose, Become my universe that feels and knows.

There is no need, however, to regard Oratorio as necessarily dealing with sacred subjects. As already suggested, it can treat poetic narrative of a high class, whether sacred or secular, with more musical completeness and more freedom than is possible in Opera, and without the cost and the often absurd realism (or failure of realism) of the stage machinery. There is also, it must be admitted, a danger in taking too religious a view of Oratorio-that of letting the religion get the better of the music; as has been illustrated of late years in the instance of Gounod's Redemption, the work of a devout Catholic, who regarded the sacred significance of the sentences set as sufficient in itself to carry off a very bald and feeble musical rendering; and in consequence his oratorio dead already. Whether the same fate may await the religious oratorios of another devout Catholic musician it is too soon at present to prophesy; but I cannot help recording the opinion heard in regard to them from an able professional musician. seemed to him, he said, that anyone who had mastered the difficulties of part-writing and orchestration, and who had very fervent Whether he was religious feelings, might go and do likewise.

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right or wrong one must leave it to 'that old common arbitrator, Time,' to decide.

That Handel is the great light in Oratorio, supreme above all others, no sound criticism can deny. In his works alone of this class do we find that spontaneous power of giving appropriate expression to the feeling of the words, whether they be pathetic or triumphant, grave or gay, which one can only characterise by the word 'inspiration,' a term which serves vaguely to account for and explain a power which is unaccountable and inexplicable. In his oratorios alone do we find that melodic interest and variety in the writing for solo voices which render these portions of the composition only second, if second, in musical importance to the finest of the choruses; and that completely vocal style, that accurate knowledge of what the voice can best express and execute, in which Handel is above all other composers. In this knowledge of vocal style Mozart and Rossini come nearest to him, but even at their best they hardly equal Handel in this sense, and Rossini's moral tone (if one may use such an expression in relation to music) is of course on an altogether lower plane than Handel's. writer for solo voices Bach, whatever his ardent worshippers of to-day may believe, has no claim to be named with Handel. His moral tone, his intent, is indeed of the highest, but his style was all formed on the organ, and he writes for solo voices as if he were writing for a solo stop on the organ. People cannot see this at present, because they are under the influence of a fashionable cult of Bach; they will possibly find it out presently. The dramatic element in Handel's solos (as might perhaps have been expected from a composer who had passed the greater part of his life in writing operas) is more remarkable and more forcible than in any The idea that the St. Matthew Passion is more other oratorios. dramatic because of the introduction of the 'narrator'-because one singer sings the words, 'And Jesus answered and said,' and another goes on with the words of Jesus, is absurd; anyone may be dramatic at that rate. Dramatic character resides in the music itself, not in the distribution of the parts. There is more dramatic character in 'Why do the nations?' 'Thou shalt break them,' or O ruddier than the cherry,' than Bach ever dreamed of in a vocal when we hear his song, 'Pan's a master, without doubt,' we find out from the words that it is intended to be humorous; We should never find it out from the music—it might be a display song in a sacred oratorio; but no one would ever make such a mistake as to Polyphemus's song. The one dramatic moment in the Passion is the choral shout of 'Barabbas!' on a chord of the diminished seventh; the rest is contemplative, not dramatic. may be all the more suitable for that reason; only let us have things called by their right names.

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One cause that has no doubt militated against keeping some of Handel's oratorios before the modern public is the poor and trivial nature of the words, or of many portions of the words, to which they are composed; and it is a curious and interesting point to notice, that as a general rule (not without exceptions) the prosaic character of the words re-acted on the music; that Handel's music rises in character and force in proportion to the poetic suggestiveness of the words to which it is set. He some. times set good music to poor words; but he never sets poor music to poetic words. Handel never properly learned our language, and it is possible that when he found such a couplet as:

> The Lord commands, and Joshua leads; Jericho falls, the tyrant bleeds,

put down for the words of a chorus, he was not fully aware what wretched doggerel it was. On the other hand, the explanation may be that, being driven into Oratorio-writing to get a living, after his reverses and losses over Opera, he felt that he could not afford to be fastidious, and must just take what he could get. At all events, it is unquestionable that if he was not alive to the monkey-tricks of doggerel in English verse, he was fully alive to the poetry, whenever there was any. Give Handel a single line, or even a word, embodying a really poetic idea, and he never fails to rise to it; numberless instances might be cited. And if we are to taboo Handel's oratorios for the poor character of the libretto, what about Opera? How many operas, at that rate, would survive? Opera is generally sung in England in a foreign language, and unless the hearer happens to be really familiar with the language, as with his own, the niaiseries of the words are mostly overlooked. But translate them, and what stuff they mostly are! Beaumarchais' paltry drama of household intrigue furnished situations for the display of Mozart's incomparable gift of musical humour, but without Mozart it would be almost vulgar. How absurd Wagner's libretti may be in the original language I am not familiar enough with German fully to realise; but such portentous clap-trap as they are in the apparently most approved English translation I never remember to have seen in print; Handel's oratorio libretti are mild in comparison; at the worst they are merely inane, they are not rampantly absurd. after all, have they, even in Oratorio, a monopoly of inanity Look at the words of the first chorus in Bach's Passion, where the chorus on one side ejaculates 'See Him!' the other questions 'How?' and the first chorus replies, 'Like a lamb.' really worth the solemn machinery of a double chorus to give expression to such bald and naïve dialogue? The double chorus in Israel in Egypt is put to a better use than that, at all events.

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But here and in Messiah Handel dealt with the noble language of the English version of the Bible, and, as usual, was proportionately noble and inspired in his music. In Israel the whole of the music is not his own, unfortunately for us, for it would be a greater work if it were, though some of the choruses which ignorant critics persist in referring to as spurious are in fact great music expanded by Handel out of brief hints borrowed from otherwise forgotten compositions; and it is in those which are entirely his own and written for the occasion that the true greatness of the oratorio consists; if it were not for these, no one would go to In Messiah we have Handel unadulterated; the one or two choruses not written, or at least not conceived in their main idea, for the words, being only happy adaptations from earlier And here, in this work, we have unquestionably work of his own. Handel's masterpiece, the treatment of a great religious epic in the subject of which the composer himself thoroughly believed; and here we have also the masterpiece of musical art, the greatest and most poetic of all musical compositions of which the spoken word is the basis; a judgment in which Beethoven at all events, who 'would have uncovered his head and knelt down on the Independently of tomb' of its author, would have concurred. the mere musical effectiveness of the choruses and solos, the manner in which the whole feeling of the great story is entered into and pourtrayed in its successive phases—the dawning light of prophecy; the pastoral scene of the Nativity; the tragedy of the Passion, with the subsequent triumph; the hope of the Christian in time and for eternity-shows the author as not only a great musician, but a great religious poet. Like most of us in the present day who think at all, I have passed beyond the phase of belief which belonged to Evangelical Christianity; and yet in listening to Messiah, so intense and so true in spirit seems both its song of tragedy and of triumph, so complete the scheme and development of the whole, that one is almost persuaded to accept it all again, for the moment at least, in the old spirit of unquestioning faith. At all events, when we consider what has been the significance to mankind of the Christian story, one may be allowed to question whether an oratorio setting it forth in so sincere and so dramatic a manner, and suggesting to the mind ideas of Divine love, of the reign of righteousness on earth, and of eternal life hereafter—whether this is not, on the whole, rather a higher subject of contemplation than an opera in which we make the acquaintance of singing dragons, real horses, and rockinghorses, and in which one of the most important incidents is that of an unnatural amour between brother and sister, suggested in a scene of overwrought passion which, with its direction at the end for the curtain to 'fall quickly,' is all but indecent.

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It is to be regretted, in regard to Oratorio, that, whether in consequence of the less importance attached to it now, or from whatever other cause, the race of great Oratorio singers is becoming, has in fact all but become, extinct. The younger generation do not know it, but it is the fact, that singers in Oratorio are now applauded to the echo whom thirty years ago we should have regarded as second-rate, and have listened to merely as substitutes for someone better. People are so apt to think that this is merely the delusion of the laudator temporis acti, that it is necessary to add that my impression in regard to instrumental music is exactly the reverse. There is a higher general standard of execution on the violin and pianoforte now than a quarter of a century ago, and a still more remarkable advance in the finish of orchestral playing. But the art of singing has gone down For many years past Mr. (now Sir Charles) Santley took the bass part in Messiah at the Handel Festivals; at the last one, though he sang in Elijah, I suppose he did not feel equal to Handel's more exacting solos, and for the first time at those Festivals we heard 'Why do the nations?' with the rapid triplet passages somewhat slurred and uncertain, instead of being sung in the clean-cut manner with which he used to give them. As to Sims Reeves, no one who did not hear him in the days of his full powers has any idea to what a height of artistic perfection Oratorio singing can be carried. And this decline in Oratorio singing must to some extent affect people's ideas as to the worth of Oratorio versus Opera. Nothing I have ever heard in Opera has affected me like Reeves's singing of the recitative 'Deeper and deeper still,' and the air 'Waft her, angels,' out of Jephtha; those who have only heard that sung by present-day Oratorio tenors have practically not heard it at all; and the idea that anything like a scenic setting could have added to the effect of that performance would have been too absurd to entertain for a moment. But if Oratorio is ever to take the position it once held, the raising again of the standard of vocal execution must be one step towards it. In Madame Clara Butt we have still a great contralto singer, but there is no sign of any adequate successors in Oratorio to Sims Reeves and Sir Charles Santley. When we can have really great singers in Oratorio again, then we may still better maintain the position already suggested, that the highest style of vocal performance is independent of and superior to stage attractions. Can anyone seriously imagine that the immortal air, 'Farewell, ye limpid springs,' could gain anything in effect if sung by Jephtha's daughter in Jewish costume before a property altar of sacrifice; that 'O ruddier than the cherry' would gain by being sung by a man made up as a Cyclops; or that the singer of 'Lord God of Abraham' could put more effect into it by masquerading in the

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mantle of the prophet? Such songs are addressed to the feeling and imagination of the listener; to try to make them appeal to his visual organs also would merely be to drag them down from a

poetic to a prosaic plane.

The Handel Society, to which reference has been made, however it may have been started with the view of illustrating Handel, has latterly somewhat deserted what should be its colours by devoting part of its limited number of concerts to works of the modern school which there are opportunities for hearing elsewhere, and thereby perforce neglecting great and nearly forgotten works which it might and should have revived. Such is the baneful effect of the hue-and-cry raised against Handel by stupid critics, echoed by popular novelists who think they are showing discrimination in following the cry, that to my knowledge some of the very amateurs who give their services in the chorus of the Handel Society sneer at his compositions in private, and have apparently to be kept in good humour by giving them the sugar of modern music of the romantic school to gild the pill of If this goes on, the Handel Society will lose its true raison d'être, and might as well disband. We are indebted to it in past days for having brought out some great and neglected works; notably for having given not very long ago a fine performance of Mozart's Requiem, a masterpiece so utterly neglected for years back that I have come across musicians and amateurs who did not even know a note of Mozart's greatest work—hardly even recognised its existence. But have the Society yet done all they might even for Handel, that they should forsake their programme for the introduction of modern compositions which there are other opportunities of hearing? Even among his oratorios there is much fine music that has hardly even been heard. what of the Chandos Anthems? much larger compositions than we generally understand by that word; Church cantatas rather: totally unknown and neglected. And to come to compositions other than Handel's-what of Cherubini's Requiem, which Beethoven said should have been his model for a Requiem? Graun's fine and pathetic oratorio, Der Tod Jesu? and Mozart's choral cantatas, 'Ne Pulvis et Cinis' and 'Splendente Te, Deus'; things which we never hear; which are forgotten as if they had never been; surely the Society might spend its time better in reviving some of these than in doing works which are popularly known and can be heard elsewhere. Among more modern Oratorio works it might be thought that Spohr's Last Judgment was worth attention, and Sterndale Bennett's beautiful and spirituel little oratorio, The Woman of Samaria; and another greater work than either, Rossini's Stabat Mater, which seems to be regarded as dead and buried. I proposed this to a valued

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friend who is influential at the Handel Society; personally I think he agreed with me, but he said it would be 'an impossible work now.' Why? Apparently because it is wanting in what we call religious feeling; it is sacred music in an operatic style. So it is to some extent; so is Beethoven's Mount of Olives (even more so); but to deny that it is a great work is as absurd as if you were to deny that Titian's 'Christ crowned with Thorns' is a great picture, because there is no religious feeling in it. Besides I do not know that it is true of the whole work; there is real pathos in the opening chorus; in the bass air, 'Pro peccatis' and above all, in the great duet, 'Quis est homo,' one of the most perfect and impassioned things in music, the singing of which by Titiens and Trebelli forms one of my most precious musical recollections—such a piece of duet-singing as I never expect to hear again. And if the Stabat Mater is too operatic, is it to be forgotten that Rossini left behind him a Messe Solennelle, also a great work, in a far more church-like style? I was present at the first performance of this given in England after Rossini's death, in a lecture-room at Liverpool, with forty picked voices and a grand pianoforte; and have never forgotten my first hearing of the fugued chorus 'Cum Sancto Spiritu'; it would open the eyes of the people who think Rossini could only write tunes. Surely the Handel Society might let us hear that, at all events, if the Stabat Mater is too frivolous!

Let me conclude with a word or two about the last Handel The introduction of Mendelssohn into the programme may be excused on the ground that it was Mendelssohn's centenary year; but if, as I suspect, it was done rather with a view of appealing to a wider popular taste and drawing a larger audience, it was a fatal mistake, equally in aesthetics and in policy. Mendelssohn is not on the same plane as Handel, nor are his choral compositions calculated to realise the highest musical value of the Festival, that of enabling us to hear choral part-writing on a vast scale; nor is there, in Mendelssohn's case, the reason for Festival honours which exists in the case of Handel, who though German by birth, is really and practically the greatest English composer. And to many of those who habitually attend these celebrations the intrusion of Mendelssohn was a bitter disappointment, and was sharply criticised. For the first time was a missed hearing Israel in Egypt in complete form; and the selection from it left out three of the finest and most inspired of the original choruses, besides depriving us of the repetition of the great chorus, 'I will sing unto the Lord,' which Handel knews well was worth hearing twice over. If the management, instead of giving us the first chorus out of Samson, 'for the first time at the Festivals,' had had the sense to give the entire oratorio

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one of Handel's greatest, and which has never been given at the Festivals as a whole, they would have done a better work, and, in all probability, had a better attendance.

The weakness, in a musical point of view, of the Handel Festival performances has always been the want of proper proportion between the band and chorus, the band not being numerous enough to maintain the proper balance between voices and instruments, or to enable the accompaniment figures to be sufficiently heard when the whole mass of the chorus are singing. This defect has been pointed out several times, and no effort seems to have been made to amend it, which seems rather stupid; but of course the cost of the performance would be considerably increased by enlarging the band, and the experiment would perhaps have been financially prohibitive; so one must recognise the difficulties of the case and be grateful for what we can get. There are always glorious effects to be heard; the mere sight of the vast semicircle of singers is an inspiring one; and the performance of the Messiah choruses at the Festival in 1909 was the finest I have ever heard there; in fact, the difficulty which one might suppose to exist in keeping so vast a body of singers together in an intricate fugued chorus seemed to have practically vanished, thanks in part to the admirable conducting of Dr. Cowen, who both on this and the last occasion gave proof of his exceptional qualifications as conductor of a large chorus.

The Handel-phobia of the précieux group of amateurs and critics is of course increased tenfold at the idea of an extra large chorus being got together to perform some of his works, and they seem hardly able to keep their temper in speaking of the Handel Festival and of those who find a grandeur in it. there!' said a lady, with a sort of sniff of contempt, to a guest who admitted having been at the Handel Festival; the despised guest being a lady who was in fact a much better musician than her hostess. The newspaper critic who seems to be the spokesman of the party devoted an article at the time to scoffing at the whole thing, suggesting, among other things, that the Plague Choruses in Israel might at any rate be omitted, 'since we did not even know whether Handel wrote them.' That the said critic did not know was obvious; he gave a naïve exhibition of his ignorance on a former occasion by describing 'But as for his people' as 'Stradella's delicious chorus'; the whole composition being Handel's, and in his best way, except the one little bit borrowed from a cantata attributed to Stradella. Any of the musical critics of this school might get at the truth by the same means that I did some years ago, viz. by going through Israel bar by bar, with the compositions from which Handel borrowed before me. they will not take the trouble to do that; they do not want facts;

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what they want is an excuse for a fling at Handel, no matter whether the facts are correct or not.

Then we are told that Handel's works ought to be done with a few singers only, so that we may find out what is their real intrinsic merit; the insinuation evidently being that the bold bad men who go to Handel Festivals are such simpletons that they cannot distinguish between the intrinsic merit of a work and the added effect which it gains from performance on a great scale. I at least may claim to be out of that galley; for though I am an admirer of Mendelssohn, and think him absurdly underrated at present, I never was so conscious of the gulf which separates him from Handel as on the second day of the last Festival, when we had Mendelssohn following on Handel, with the same vast scale of performance for both. Every Handel Festival, if not ideal throughout (and of course the solos lose a great deal in that large space), presents point after point of overwhelmingly grand effect, fully worth going for, and which can be realised nowhere else in the world. It is all nonsense to say that scale has nothing to do with effect in choral music; you might as well say that there is nothing to choose between a parish church and a cathedral, if they were equally good architecture. In architecture as in music, scale is an important element of sublimity. I should think that I am one of the very last persons to follow or to be lured by mere popular taste in music; and I can say, most emphatically, that never have I felt exalted and carried away by anything in music as I have been by the last two pages of the 'Amen' Chorus sung by that vast Handel Festival Chorus. The effect never wears off; Festival after Festival I have looked forward to hearing once more that glorious climax of answering voices, those grand chains of imitation passages, which, given out by hundreds of voices to each part, seem to hold one breathless with emotion, and actually to realise Milton's line:

And bring all Heaven before mine eyes.

For those who can see nothing in this but matter for a cheap sneer, and who could indulge in a kind of spiteful chuckle at the idea that (for financial reasons) there would probably never be another Handel Festival at the Crystal Palace (a prognostication which has happily been falsified, for this occasion at all events), one can only feel a sincere compassion mingled with some little contempt. It is they who are the Philistines.

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A FORGOTTEN GERMAN CREDITOR OF THE ENGLISH STAGE

I

Kotzebue can no longer be ignored in the history of English literature, nor put off with a cursory remark. And it is no small object of wonder that he should ever have been; a man whom William Taylor called 'the greatest dramatic genius that Europe has produced since Shakespeare'; whose name is associated with many of England's greatest names in the end of the eighteenth century—Sheridan, who made his biggest hit by a version of Kotzebue's Pizarro; Mrs. Siddons and the two Kembles, Mrs. Jordan, Kean and Macready, who found unique opportunities for displaying their powers in most of Kotzebue's plays; Mrs. Inchbald, who made a living by translating them; Hannah More, who thought it worth her while to set out on an educational campaign against him, and through whose neat prose we occasionally hear the surly bass of her old friend, Dr. Johnson. Add to these Lord Byron and Sir Walter Scott.

II

By the end of the eighteenth century English dramaticliterature was slowly recovering from two laborious attempts to give birth to a new species. It had brought forth Sheridan, a bright-witted, forward, but superficial offspring, and Cumberland, a short-lived sentimentalist of mongrel stock. Together with Hugh Kelly, Cumberland only just kept alive the 'bourgeois' feeling of the pioneers, Edward Moore and Lillo. went no further. Whatever health there still lingered in this enervated period found expression either in Garrick's ruthless, though well-meant Shakespeare revivals, or in the downright farces of Foote. As an extraordinary exception, Goldsmith's two priceless comedies have a claim to be considered here. Though they seemed strong enough to kill sentimental comedy, they did not. The reason of this lies partly in Goldsmith himself, who did not altogether escape the prevailing infection, as a close study of his work will show; partly in the very nature of senti-

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mental comedy. This was not so much a French-reared descendant of La Chaussée as the lineal progeny of Richardson and Sterne, and even of Cibber and Steele. Therefore its vitality was really stronger and lay deeper than we generally believe Anyhow, that it was not quite extinct in the end of the eighteenth century seems to appear from the fact that a Kotzebue-furore broke out at that period, and raged for nearly a decade. No. sentimental comedy was not dead! Few and far between were the dramatists who kept the embers glimmering under the ashes: and perhaps even they did not know that they were doing so, and cannot properly be called sentimentalists. But they were all in touch with Germany, and all of them caught a glimpse of the bright flame recently kindled by Bürger and Schiller. Thomas Holcroft, the father of the English melodrama, stayed in Hamburg and toured through Germany. Reynolds's first play (1785) was an adaptation of Werther, and in George Colman the Younger Scott detected 'the falsetto of German pathos.' Unfortunately the generation to which those writers belonged was too weak to keep up any tradition. Sentimental comedy was visibly dwindling into nothingness. When it awoke from its deathlike slumber, new life had been infused into it, and that new life was German.

III

What change had come over it? Sentimental comedy, in its earliest shape, had tried to appeal to our innate sympathy and admiration for virtue innocently suffering. Its motive force was simple and single. It was the same which had set the world weeping over Pamela. At least nearly the same, for if we accept Lowell's definition of sentiment, Richardson was not refined enough to be a true sentimentalist. 'True sentiment,' says Lowell, 'is emotion ripened by a slow ferment of the mind and qualified to an agreeable temperance by that taste which is the conscience of polite society. But the sentimentalist always insists on taking his emotion neat, and, as his sense gradually deadens to the stimulus, increases his dose till he ends in a kind of moral deliquium.' But true sentiment claims indissoluble connexion with moral strength and bravery. 'It is,' as Meredith puts it, 'a happy pastime and an important science to the timid, the idle, and the heartless; but a damning one to them who have anything to forfeit.' No dramatist had 'any thing to forfeit 'at the time, not even a reputation. been anyone great enough to stand aloof and decline to pander to the rising depravity, the result might have changed the aspect of a period. But in the eighteenth century social life seems to have sucked up the very life-blood of the nation. One could not be a member of polite society and a man.

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IV

Early eighteenth-century France saw the spring of sentiment bubble up in the 'comédie larmoyante.' The slender rill grew into a mighty stream when it met with a new tributary. This new tributary was Rousseau. It swelled the rivulet into a roaring torrent, whose waters swamped the whole of Europe. describe the foreign effects of that flood would be a work of ages. Much has been written on the subject, of which the late Mr. Texte was undoubtedly the most promising student; but much remains to be written. I do not think even Mr. Brandes's work is final, and I am sure some more shelves of books will be needed to explain adequately why the Chinese ever painted the sorrows

of Werther on porcelain.

In England, about 1800, Voltaire was quite forgotten, though his Annals of the Empire of Charlemagne were only first translated in 1781. The 'great professor and founder of the Philosophy of Vanity,' as Burke called Rousseau, was reigning supreme. Between 1752, when R. Wynne's translation of the Dijon Discourse appeared, and 1790, when the translation of the Confessions was completed, nearly all his works were 'Englished' by various hands. And willing readers he found, despite Dr. Johnson's bursts of anger against the 'very bad man.' Nay, more, his disciples were crowding into England not only, as was to be expected, from France, but also from other quarters. Kotzebue was coming, a son of Rousseau, more truly of his kith and kin than Byron or Lamartine, than Chateaubriand and George Sand. 'However sincere may be one's love of virtue, it sooner or later grows weak without our perceiving it, and we become unjust and wicked in action without having ceased to be just and good in soul '—this statement of Rousseau would have been readily endorsed by Kotzebue. It would be deemed superfluous to enlarge on Kotzebue's characteristics. They have been repeatedly put 'in a nutshell.' 'Apotheose der Lüderlichkeit,' says Scherer; Apotheose der Spatzenliebe,' emphasises von Gottschall. It is not surprising then to find that Kotzebue's teaching was to produce in England exactly the same results as the 'writings of Rousseau and his French infidels,' which Mrs. Hannah More describes in her own quaint and vigorous way: 'The chief materials out of which these delusive systems are framed, are characters who practise superfluous acts of generosity, while they are trampling on obvious and commanded duties; who combine sentiments of honour with actions the most flagitious: a hightone of self-confidence, with a perpetual breach of self-denial: pathetic apostrophes to the passions, but no attempt to resist Sentimental comedy as exemplified in Vanbrugh's them.'

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Esop, and in the plays of Cibber and Steele, had a pervading serious tone, was essentially 'bourgeois' in character, situation, and incident, even romantic, and directly or indirectly didactic. Here was indeed a field for 'infidel' influences from France. But Mrs. More was mistaken. The infidel influence was to come from Germany. Still her mistake was a natural one, for her description applies as well to Kotzebue's sentimental plays as to the novels of Rousseau.

As for Kotzebue's other productions, they also found ready acceptance. His romantic plays fell in with the prevailing taste for scenic display which has always distinguished the English public, to whom gorgeous pantomimes and the whole 'poetry of foot' still unreservedly appeal. As for his dramatic trifles, they were sure to be welcomed in the heyday of farce by the numerous admirers of Foote. On every side, then, the doors stood open wide for Kotzebue to step in. And it is easy to see why, about 1790, sentimental comedy proper was changing under the dominant influence of Kotzebue, backed by previous influence from Rousseau.

In Kotzebue's influence two elements were to be distinguished. The one was his sentimentality, which he borrowed from France. The other belonged exclusively to him. It was something which had been lacking in England for many decades, and was lacking even in Sheridan; it was interest of plot, striking and picturesque incidents and individuality of characters—in short, stage-craft.

V

Undoubtedly Kotzebue would have won a firm footing in England merely on account of the family traits which he had in common with sentimental comedy. But as a fact he was helped besides by the direct influence in England of his spiritual father Rousseau, and by some other circumstances which we will presently consider.

At the time we are writing of, Napoleon's shadow loomed large all over Europe. Floating rumours of a French invasion kept the country in a state of nervous excitement. A politician who was, at the same time, a great orator, an acute manager, and a handy playwright, saw what possibilities some of Kotzebue's dramas afforded for playing on the country's deepest feeling, its ineradicable insularity. So Sheridan slightly altered Kotzebue's Pizarro, and inserted some of his own fiery harangues. The play transparently vilified the French and enthusiastically extolled English pluck in the defence of the soil. The 'boom' created by his play was absolutely unprecedented in English stage-history.

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Rival authors, such as Cumberland, were not slow to follow suit, and they also were successful.

Another element of success, which made Kotzebue's plays hold the boards long after his meteor had flashed across the theatrical sky, was their adaptability to the 'star system.' Rolla, Frederick, The Stranger, Pizarro, and Cora were parts well calculated for allowing the greater actors and actresses a full display of their particular powers. No modern actor-manager could wish them better for himself or for his leading lady.

And last, not least, a powerful aid to success was the rise of Romanticism in England. The part which Germany took in this movement has been weighed and measured in nearly every way. Werther was translated into English in 1779, Nathan der Weise the year after, and Minna von Barnhelm in 1789. The Räuber had to wait till 1792, Iphigenie till 1793, and Emilia Galotti till 1794. Kabale und Liebe was 'Englished' in 1795. The following year witnessed the triumph of Bürger's Lenore, twenty-two years after its publication in Germany. Scott translated The Chase and William and Helen, and elicited three other complete translations in the very same year. He also rendered Götz into English, while Wordsworth and Coleridge were on their tour through Germany, from which the latter brought back, as a royal present, his marvellous Wallenstein version (1800). Coleridge's sympathy with Germany cannot be doubted, but the touch of constraint, which may occasionally be detected in it, is very He did not go the length of thinking Goethe greatly overrated,' or of charging him with 'profligacy' and 'inhuman sensuality,' as Wordsworth did, but he neglected He must have felt uneasy, after his Goethe for lesser writers. first and splendid effort on Wallenstein, in borrowing, chiefly from Mathisson, Stolberg, Friederike Brun, and other such small luminaries. But his fault was that of all England at that time. Taking into account four capital works of each author, the average number of years which elapsed between a work's publication in Germany and its translation into English would be nineteen for Goethe, eleven for Schiller, and only six for Kotzebue. Schiller was more successful in England than Goethe. Klopstock, Gellert, Rammler—names that have now sunk into comparative or complete oblivion, rang higher than Lessing, Schiller, or Goethe. A tide of German translations swept over England. and bore Kotzebue into the very heart of the country. Emilia Galotti could hold the boards no longer than three nights, Rotzebue's plays took every town by storm and continued successful, even after the interest in things German had died out. An Ode to the German Drama, by 'the late Mr. Seward,' which appeared in the Annual Register for 1799, cleverly, if not harmoniously, states the case. I should like to quote the six stanzas, but will just give the concluding lines of the last, an English dramatist's prayer:

The fair, by vicious love misled,
Teach me to cherish and to wed,
To low-born arrogance to bend,
Establish'd order spurn, and call each outcast friend.

VI

That Kotzebue's influence was, beyond doubt, greater than has ever been acknowledged will first be seen from the number of his plays translated into English. That it did not owe much to the art of English translators is equally clear. It must be admitted that it was Sheridan's 'flair' as manager, and his handiness in adapting Pizarro to the English taste, which gave Kotzebue his chance. But once the way had been cleared, at or even skill had nothing more to do with Kotzebue. 'Now it was,' says a contemporary review, 'that laborious dulness, on the part of unqualified and plodding translators, acting in concert with the mercenary rapacity of speculating publishers, paved the way for the establishment of the German translating manufactory.' Vainly did 'A London Gentleman' pathetically reproach Sheridan for being able to

... join the tame translating crew, And banish Avon's Bard for Kotzebue.

Sheridan may have taken the warning, but somehow the 'translating crew' did not, and the stream of Kotzebue translations ceaselessly kept pouring into England. We might almost say with La Fontaine of whatever dramatists the period could boast:

Ils n'en mouraient pas tous, mais tous étaient frappés.

Thomas Morton's Speed the Plough (1798), the comedy which ushered into the world the immortal character of Mrs. Grundy, is quite Kotzebuesque. Its Miss Blandford is a copy of Amelia in Lovers' Vows. In Morton's opera The Blind Girl, Clara unmistakably belongs to the same family. Her affected simplicity and pretentious phraseology, her effeminate and flippant spirit, and her absolute want of any bracing feeling stamp her with Kotzebue's mark. Cumberland's Wheel of Fortune (1795) might be traced to Kotzebue's Misanthropy and Repentance. Joanna Baillie's Plays on the Passions (1798-1836) chiefly differ from Kotzebue's in that they are quite ineffective as acting plays.

In short, many volumes might be written about indirect or unacknowledged indebtedness to Kotzebue. The desolate look

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of the wilderness of late eighteenth-century drama may have deterred many a seeker for literary truths; but the journey, if uninviting, would very probably be fruitful. For there the barren soil shows nakedly its geological strata. And there also may be found the still undiscovered fountainheads of the drama of to-day. This late eighteenth century is like a diseased body, where every scar and wound is plain to the sight, where every symptom is strong and easily recognisable, and may possibly give a clue to the reasons of, and suggest a remedy for, the present consumptive state of the English drama. Nor is it the drama only on which the study of Kotzebue in England sheds additional light, but also the novel. The so-called 'School of Terror,' now for ever connected with 'Monk' Lewis's name, was indebted to him for some of its gruesome properties. The above-quoted ode acknowledges Kotzebue's plays as the source of their supply of 'dungeons, chains, and blood,' and sums up in the following terms:

> Bound in thy necromantic spell The audience taste the joys of hell; And Britain's sons indignant groan With pangs unfelt before, at crimes before unknown.

Again, the relish for exoticism which was characteristic of the Lewis-Maturin-Radcliffe-Beckford group, however traceable to Bernardin de Sainte-Pierre, was greatly fostered if not engendered in England by Kotzebue. The contemporary announcements and reviews of books will show a large number of accounts of embassies, descriptions of, and letters from, nearly every part of the world, especially the East. The author of Kamschatka, The Negro-Slaves, and Pizarro in Peru is partly responsible for that craze, which was to pass through Beckford's, Hope's, and Morier's 'oriental' novels into the poetry of Southey, Moore, and Byron.

VII

By its sheer exaggeration Kotzebue's success could not but rouse reaction. Did not Neuman, the translator of Family Distress, argue that Kotzebue possessed all the excellence of Shakespeare without any of his defects? Others, with a touch of temper already, called him a German Shakespeare to whom Mrs. Inchbald acted as midwife and Sheridan as foster-father. Even the Monthly Review—which at the outset occasionally supported Kotzebue—on finding nine translations to review for one month, grew weary of it, and exclaimed: 'A register-office seems wanting for Kotzebue's numerous (we had almost said innumerable) productions, by means of which our rival transla-

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tors by profession, male and female, might escape the danger of running foul of each other, as several have unfortunately done; or perhaps an insurance office might prove a more desirable scheme.' It is very entertaining to watch the Monthly Review's attitude towards Kotzebue, as indicative of his popularity. Some figures may perhaps be more convincing still. From 1795 to 1805, then, the number of editions of plays and acting versions was successively: 0, 2, 0, 18, 71, 10, 13, 4, 1, 2. In the last year of the century Kotzebue reached the apex of his fame with seventy-one editions! But in 1800 the Monthly Review was, in its own words, 'sick of him.'

Parodies sprang up, proving both his popularity and the opposition of what was still a minority. Pizarro had its plentiful A general skit appeared in a collection of share of ridicule. satiric poems called The Meteors, under the title of The Benevolent Cut-throat, a play in seven acts. Translated from the original German drama, written by the celebrated Klotzboggen haggen. But this was only a stray echo from the open warfare which several writers and reviewers had been waging against Thomas Dutton, a journalist who claimed to have Kotzebue. acquired a thorough knowledge of German by a long residence in Saxony, never ceased to oppose him in his Dramatic Censor. This weekly review, of which he was himself the sole contributor, is the work of a well-educated, clear-headed, and outspoken man. He was fairly unprejudiced, deeming 'the genius of Schiller ... unquestionable, praising Thompson's collection of plays from the German, but simply loathing 'the ill-digested, hasty, and bombastic productions of Kotzebue.' From his nationalistic point of view Dutton had every reason to oppose him, for the threatened contract between the London managers and Kotzebue for a regular supply of his newest manuscripts might have imperilled the very existence of the English Drama in this age of weakness, had it been carried out. That he attacked his for with the utmost energy may be gathered from the fact that in the first year of his review (1800) Kotzebue is referred to thirty-And his clear, crisp, and forcible English made every six times. blow tell.

A Tory periodical, the Anti-Jacobin Review, which systematically opposed all new ideas from the Continent, was less fair and sometimes scurrilous in its abuse. 'To degrade religion under the appearance of hatred to superstition, to decry all legitimate authority under the pretence of exposing tyranny, and to sanction the gratification of the most ardent of human passions under the flimsy veil of sentimental love,' such were, according to the Anti-Jacobin Review, 'the ends which Kotzebue had set himself to attain,' The True Briton ioined in the outery, and

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A GERMAN CREDITOR OF OUR STAGE April 1912 eventually became so vehement as to elicit protest from other er of papers. The Anti-Jacobin, if less passionate, was more insidious. lone; rable iew's Some 95 to sions e last with as, in 1 the ntiful on of nevon the ggenarfare gainst have dence ensor. outor, man. hiller plays asty, alistic r the zebue have s age is foe at in hirty. every matifail. ligion y all

It tried to picture Kotzebue as a dangerous sort of person who. besides 'holding up the principles of a prostitute . . . in an enviable light,' favoured revolutionary notions. It contended that Elvira in Pizarro was 'nothing less than a complete Godwinite heroine, stark staring Mary all over.' This attempt to tie up Kotzbue with the mother of all female suffragists, Mary Wollstonecraft, and with her husband, William Godwin, the father of extreme socialism in England, was clever enough, and no doubt effective. Another wily move was to expose Kotzebue as one of the 'Illuminati,' saying: 'It is not for me to class Miss Plumptre (one of Kotzebue's most active translators) amongst them—nor even Mr. Sheridan—but if I were, who could disprove my assertion?' Ridiculous as this now seems, it found many believers at the time. It was a heavy charge, especially in England, where the love of fair play and straightforward dealing is national. The 'Illuminati' that were meant were the 'Order of the Illuminati,' founded at Ingolstadt in 1776 by Adam Weishaupt. They were originally a secret society of Bavarian Catholics, whose general aim was to spread moral enlightenment, and who especially attacked the Jesuits and their methods. But they had become possessed of wide-reaching means of information in every country, and were, so it was said, mysterious and terrible in their dealings. The impression produced on the English public by such scanty knowledge of them as was available abroad, was that of a secret society connected in some way with Catholics. This was enough to rouse fear and hatred, and this the Anti-Jacobin knew. Even Hannah More, the educational authority of the early nineteenth century, reasonable and clear-minded though she was, concurred in this attack. Strange to say, Thomas Dutton now took up Kotzebue's defence against that celebrated moral female quack, as he called Mrs. More. Nevertheless, in her Coelebs. she advised young ladies not to waste their time in learning German, and in her Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education (1799) she warned them earnestly against the danger of German literature, which in every form, she said, has only one aim—namely, 'to instil the principles of Illuminatism.' And as a specimen of the very worst in German literature she quoted 'the admired play of The Stranger.' The indictment only calls for a smile now: but it was well calculated to impress the mass of middle-class playgoers and readers at a time when deism was not quite forgotten, and when, to a country that had been carrying on war against the Theorem of rationalism the French Republic ever since 1793, all theories of rationalism and republicanism were hateful to a degree.

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1799! Times were getting worse and worse for Kotzebue His splendid vitality had outlasted the fiercest attacks, and ha might have held his own for yet many more years to come if the soil on which he stood had not suddenly shifted. In 1800 h dropped like a stone from the summit of his glory. The temper of the age had changed. Sensibility and affectation were instantaneously struck out from the standing list of female per. The languishing, fatalistic, glib-tongued, and snigger. ing female vanished and made room for a new type, 'the bold and independent beauty,' as Mrs. More describes it, 'the intrenid female, the hoyden, the huntress, and the archer; the swinging arms, the confident address, the regimental, and the four-inhand.'

Kotzebue, England's idol for ten years, was down! But he must needs be crushed. For, lo! from quarters high came two more crashing bolts. Sir Walter Scott levelled a lance against the 'wretched pieces of Kotzebue,' and Byron's fiery outburst sang the German dirge:

> Awake, George Colman! Cumberland, awake! Ring the alarum-bell! let folly quake! Oh, Sheridan! if aught can move thy pen, Let Comedy assume her throne again; Abjure the mummery of the German schools; Leave new Pizarros to translating fools; Give, as thy last memorial to the age, One classic drama, and reform the stage.

Thus sang, in 1808, the English Bard against the Scotch Reviewers. Was Kotzebue dead now? Yes, but his body must be trampled on. A cousin-burletta of the famous Rovers, attributed to Colman, and called The Quadrupeds of Quadlinburgh; or, the Rovers of Weimar. Tragico-Comico-Anglo-Germanico Hippo-Ono-Dramatico-Romance, set the audience roaring at the Haymarket Theatre. This was indeed the kick of the ass at the lion. But fortunately 'the laugh,' as Dutton says, 'was at s thing of other days: the German drama . . . past and gone . . . was beyond the reach of ridicule.'

VIII

Was it the sentiment of their common Teutonic origin which drew England and Germany so tightly together in the end of the eighteenth century? Or was it their common fear of the Latin race to which Napoleon was then giving, for the second time history, an overpowering supremacy in Europe? It may here both But while a been both. But whilst from a political point of view England was the greater nation, and eventually proved to be stumbling block which made the giant fall Germany was

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far the stronger literary power. It is not too bold to say that for ten. or fifteen years Germany shaped England's stage destiny. Of what Germany's drama was about 1780, England's was to be a faithful copy between 1790 and 1800. To the sharply opposed artistic poetry, as produced by Goethe and Schiller, on one side, and, on the other side, the grovelling tendency towards naturalness in art as represented by Iffland and Kotzebue, corresponds in England the conflict between the acting and the poetical drama. A reference in connexion with the former to any other names than Cumberland, Mrs. Inchbald, or Benjamin Thompson would hardly be appreciated, for they are lost in utter obscurity. As to the poetical drama we know it from Byron's, Beddoes', Shelley's, Browning's, and Tennyson's works, and from repeated experiments, to be inferior for acting purposes. There are not many more memorable failures than that of Tennyson's Promise of May in 1882. Neither could Sir Henry Irving, enthusiastic as was his admiration for Tennyson, greatly as he loved his part of Becket (1893), ever be brought to unqualified approval of the laureate's dramatic efforts.

Nothing could have been more deadly to the English stage than this dissociation of the dramatic and poetical elements. On the other hand, no triumph was ever greater than their harmonious combination, which is Shakespeare's greatest claim to worship. Now, at the bottom of this momentous event, this conflict between the acting and the poetical drama, we find-Kotzebue: Kotzebue who, by giving exclusive importance to the acting qualities of plays, severed the idea of poetry from that of drama, and who spoilt the public by lavishly catering for its love of strong excitement in plot and glaring contrast in situation. Unfortunately there never was in England a State-subsidised So, nearly all the managers had to give in and repertory theatre. minister to the popular taste, thus excluding from the stage such artists as did not sacrifice everything else to scenic display and sensational situations. Very soon these artists came to forget that a theatre is the only right place for a drama, and neglected more and more to meet the practical requirements of the stage. And now, after more than a century has elapsed, if you hear critics complaining about the poverty of the English stage, say 'Kot-If you wonder at the number of tragedies in verse, with or without 'a pageant,' announced in publishers' lists, which have never been, and will never be, on a play-bill; if you growl at the success of The Eternal Question and plays of the Bella-Donna stamp, or fret over the slow recognition of Mr. Frohman's efforts; if you feel at a loss before such hybrid philosophico-epicodramatic productions as Mr. Shaw's Man and Superman and Mr. Hardy's Dynasts; or finally, if you find that, besides

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Mr. Shaw, Sir Arthur Pinero, and Mr. Galsworthy, you can count the English dramatists on the fingers of one hand, then most emphatically say 'Kotzebue.'

IX

Fortunately, matters seem to have been mending these few months. English dramatists appear to have found what may well prove an effective antidote against the growing intoxication of sensationalism, viz. decentralisation in time The increasing public interest in Greek and in space. tragedy and the frequent revivals of the early specimens of English dramatic art may lead to a rediscovery of the lost formula. On the other hand, Ireland and Scotland, on which the poison never had its full effect, are making their influence more and more directly felt. If space permitted we would try to show how those factors have already cleared the air for a wholesale transformation of the dramatic atmosphere. 'Back to the past; back to the land! ' might be the cry of the reformers. Of course, sovereign time and circumstance will shape the new possibilities into facts. Moreover our foresight, we know, falls considerably short of prophecy. Still, we are confident that the future historian of the rejuvenated English stage will have to quote with some gratitude the names of Professor Gilbert Murray, Mr. Poel, Mr. Yeats, and also of the Moffats and the late Mr. Synge.

The other alternative is that Kotzebue might prove too strong

even for them.

Jos. E. GILLET.

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THE CAUSE OF OUR NATIONAL INSECURITY

When, after twenty years of desperate striving, the peace that followed Waterloo dropped its curtain upon the stage of Europe, the scenes which that curtain veiled passed rapidly from the mind of England. The long agony of national struggle; the enduring stern resolve; the vast sacrifices of blood and of gold, which had not only preserved the independence of England and gained or sustained England's Empire, but had enabled the European peoples to hurl aside the yoke of Napoleon—all these efforts, all these experiences, were forgotten in the tide of a great reaction. The burden which past events had imposed was present. The former need was effaced from memory. Domestic politics, for nearly a generation thrust into the background, held the board. Catholic emanicipation, Poor-Law problems, the extension of the franchise, not merely absorbed public attention, but claimed the hearts and the brains of thinking men.

In this era—when the basic truths had been lost to sight that every great nation is a unit in a world of competing peoples, and that national dominion expresses only a temporary adjustment of rival forces—were born or grew up the men who gave the hue and the tone to the political life and thought of our country far into the nineteenth century. Gladstone was born in 1809, Bright in 1811; they spent the formative time of their youth in a period when questions of domestic reform plus a great philanthropic cause—the abolition of slavery—held paramount place. Although when Macaulay wrote his oft-quoted essay upon the first book of the future Liberal chief he described Mr. Gladstone as 'the rising hope of the stern unbending Tories,' the fact which he thus stated did not affect the case. For whether in advocacy or in resistance, Tories and Liberals were alike mainly occupied with internal

movements in the life of England.

Meanwhile, in the kingdom of Prussia that intense nationality which had been welded in the fires of the Seven Years' War, and kindled anew in the uprising of the nations in 1813, remained a living force. The work of Stein and of Scharnhorst did not die.

The systems of military and of educational training which they inaugurated in the years when Prussia writhed under the heel of Bonaparte brought forth fruit in distant generations, and in their later and modern developments those systems are mainly respon. sible for the Germany of to-day.

A continental State, lying amid other continental States. Prussia retained her international sense, while England remained national only. Perhaps if England, like Prussia, had been conquered in war, if the foot of the invader had been stamped upon our necks, if an arrogant soldiery had dominated our territory and made us eat bread in the valley of humiliation; if, in a word, the fate of Prussia had been the fate of England-then, in sequent time, our statesmen too might have remembered, and not forgotten the realities which condition a nation's life. But beyond a small and abortive raid upon Ireland, British soil was never violated by the footstep of the invader throughout the whole conflict which raged with France, with two short interludes, from 1793 to 1815.

Wrapped in her mantle of naval supremacy, England, fiercely contending on and beyond the seas, yet knew not war in her own home. Trafalgar and the fruits of Trafalgar preserved us from war's last grip. The trident of Neptune in the hand of Nelson traced round these fortunate isles a circle as of a magician's wand. And as sea power had saved us in the past, so was it relied on to save us in the future, while the immense part which military prowess had also played in the great struggle passed out of view.

Thus is the paradox true that Britain is now suffering from the completeness of her ancient triumph, while Prussia has reaped a harvest from her defeat. Stress produces strength, but the absence of it weakness. Great men have been born of Jena', and many feeblings from the victory off Cadiz.

To such a depth of nescience did Englishmen sink in the thirty years that followed Waterloo that even Carlyle could write thus:

She [i.e. Britain] has in fact certain cottons, hardware, and suchlike to sell in foreign ports, and certain wines, Portugal oranges, Baltic tar and other products to buy; and does need, I suppose, some kind of Consul, of accredited agent, accessible to British voyagers, here and there, in the chief cities of the Continent; through which functionary or through the pending the bad on the pending the p post, if she had any specific message to foreign Courts, it would be east and proper to transmit the same. Special message-carriers, to be still called ambassadors, if the name gratified them, could be sent when occasion great enough demanded; not sent when it did not.

But for all purposes of a resident ambassador, I hear persons extensively well acquainted among that and well acquainted among our foreign embassies at this date declare, that a well-selected Times many a well-selected Times reporter, or 'own correspondent,' ordered to reside in foreign capitals and 'keen his foreign capitals and 'keep his eyes open, and (though sparingly) his per going, would in reality be seen as the contract of the sparingly of the sparingly his per going. going, would in reality be more effective—and surely we see well, he would

come a good deal cheaper'!

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This passage occurs in Latter Day Pamphlets, Downing Street, published in 1850. By a singular stroke of fate, the date of the paper is the 1st of April.

As we needed no ambassadors, so also, in Thomas Carlyle's opinion, we required no navy and no regular army. This view, which was probably extremely popular at the time of its enunciation, is clearly expressed in the pamphlet following that already cited, called The New Downing Street:

Our War Offices, Admiralties, and other Fighting Establishments are forcing themselves on everybody's attention at this time. . . . A perpetual solecism, and blasphemy (of its sort), set to march openly amongst us, dressed in scarlet! Bull, with a more and more sulky tone, demands that such solecism be abated; that these Fighting Establishments be, as it were, disbanded, and set to do some work in the Creation, since fighting there is none for them. This demand is irrefragably just, is growing urgent, too; and yet this demand cannot be complied with-not yet while the State grounds itself on unrealities, and Downing Street continues what it is.

Further on the true function of our Navy is indicated:

Seventy-fours not hanging idly by their anchors in the Tagus . . . but busy, every seventy-four of them, carrying over streams of British Industrials to the immeasurable Britain that lies beyond the sea in every zone of the world.

These quotations from one of the greatest writers of mid-Victorian times display with singular vividness the frame of mind which has been inherited by our modern Radicals and peace-atany-pricers. Our Ministers were for the most part the merest opportunists in foreign affairs (even as they are now), without the most elementary conception of the need of a national policy aiming at national advantage. A perusal of Queen Victoria's published letters leads to the belief that that great sovereign stood almost alone in her grasp of this central idea. Of those beliefs of Carlyle and of his compeers of which the events of sixty years have proved the ineffable absurdity, the great mass of the present-day Liberal party, inside and outside of the House of Commons, are the true heirs-at-law. Historically, the British Empire, as it existed when Carlyle wrote, was the result of prodigious processes of desperate contention with other competing States. If any man was aware of the fact, that man might have been supposed to be himself. Yet so completely was he obsessed by the thought current in his day that knowledge of the past possessed for him no significance in regard to the future. The vision of England as a country Wrestling for ascendancy with mighty rivals, and with her trade, her wealth, her empire and her national independence dependent on the issue of that grapple, was a vision wholly hidden from his

sight. To him, and to his contemporaries, whatever benefit the sacrifices of previous generations had gained for the people of Britain appeared an inalienable possession which the other nations of mankind would never dream of tearing from our hands. That mood, that thought, came of five-and-thirty years of peace, of a national security resting upon former victory by sea and by land, of the exhaustion of Europe and the sleep of Asia. Africa was savage. America was immature. These circumstances were all either entirely exceptional or swiftly transient, yet they existed once, and while they existed the grossness of error into which even a man of genius could fall was in a measure natural and lacked not some excuse.

But though we may thus palliate the immense mistake made by Carlyle, how can we forgive those who, living now in the light of a knowledge denied to him, and with the world's picture as it is painted to-day thrust before their eyes, can still become the victims of misapprehension equally complete? In regard to international affairs, English Radicals are the Peter Pan of politics. They have never grown up. They have never been able to understand that since the notions were formed of which they are the modern patentees, the entire condition of the world has altered. They are living still in 1850. They fail to perceive that the struggle for life, for growth, for ascendancy, which characterised the relations of the civilised peoples in the sixteenth, the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, but which had temporarily ceased in the middle of the nineteenth, has revived now with an intensity as great as, and upon a scale far greater than was ever known before.

Within four years from the time when the Englishmen of 1850 considered navies and armies to be useless encumbrances and the days of international rivalry to be for ever past, Europe was convulsed by the Crimean War. Within seven years from the same date only the trained troops of England, the scarlet 'solecisms of John Bull, saved their countrymen and countrywomen in India from the ultimate horrors of the Mutiny. But two years later still, that is, in 1859, the freedom of Italy from Austria's oppression, the goal desired for ages by Italian patriots, was won on the From 1861 to battlefield by the armies of France and Savoy. 1865 a tremendous internecine conflict raged in the United States In 1864 Prussia and Austria showed their reverence for the West by bisecting Denmark. In 1866 the spoilers fought, and Moltke and the Prussian needle-gun wrested the hegemony of German from the House of Hapsburg. In 1870 came the colossal distributions. between France on the one hand and Prussia, with the southern German States, on the other. Yet seven years more, and the spear of Russia amiting spear of Russia, smiting as on the gates of Constantinople, after

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the carnage of Plevna and the Shipka Pass, was repulsed only by the menace of the British Fleet.

In the eighteen-eighties came the Egyptian and the Khartoum expeditions, the ravage of the Soudan, the foundation alike of the French and of the German colonial empires, the war of France with China, and the onward march of the Russian arms even until they stood, at Penjdeh, on Afghan soil. Armed rebellion against Turkish rule fashioned Bulgaria into a separate State, while in the 'nineties' Greece was taught by Turkish bullets that high sentiment and passionate aspiration were vain without military efficiency. In 1898 the United States flung aside the traditions of a hundred years, broke by force the rule of Spain, and entered into the arena of world competition by the seizure of the Philippines, whence it is possible that, before many years are

past, they will be expelled by Japan.

If all these wars, and others which I have not stopped to name, were insufficient to convince our Radicals that their whole theory of international affairs was false, then the events that next followed might at last have brought the proof. In the South African war Britain had over two hundred and fifty thousand troops in the field, while the British Navy alone stood between our otherwise unguarded shores and a Europe burning to intervene—a feat which, in like circumstances, it is now no longer adequate to perform. Meantime, in a silence inspired with a terrible energy, had proceeded the renaissance of the Japanesea renaissance not of letters, but of arms, until, in 1904-5, by sea and by land she showed to mankind a new portent, the victory of an Asiatic race over one of the mightiest empires of the West. Later still than all this, even within the last few months, a vast upheaval, fraught with infinite meaning for the whole world, has occurred in China; while even at the present time a war is proceeding between Italy and Turkey, and rumours of possible co-operation with the former Power on the part of Russia are rife

As if all this were not enough evidence of the impermanence of all political conditions, Western mankind is also threatened with an earthquake from beneath in comparison with which the fury of the French Revolution itself might pale its ineffectual fires. The 'Red Peril' already throws its lurid glare across the page of coming history, and intestine struggles on a scale unprecedented in human annals are already looming on the horizon of nearly all

civilised peoples.

Yet in face of these tremendous and appalling probabilities of the near future, in sight of the storm-signs of an era of almost universal war, there are yet to be found, mainly in the realms

of the English-speaking race, great numbers of politicians, of speakers, and of writers who either believe or pretend to believe that war is an anachronism for which arbitration can be sub. stituted. With this belief every act of our Liberal Government has been coloured from the date of its assumption of office in 1906 until the present day. They can see the boundaries of nations but as fixed quantities, although in fact the territories of every Great Power have been in a state of flux for sixty years, and are in a state of flux now. With a fatuity probably unparalleled in the records of the past, they continue to appeal to Germany to curb the pace of her naval construction, without reflecting that this request amounts to an adjuration to our greatest rival to abandon her national ambition and to cease her national growth. truth is that for a growing people armaments are the instruments by which expansion is achieved. Only for a people which has ceased to grow are they weapons merely of defence.

Again, our English Radicals prate constantly of 'rights.' When they use that term in relation to a nation they are the slaves of a sound, and of a gross confusion of ideas. What is a 'right' on the part of a people? An independent State has no 'right' as against other States, save that of the sword alone. The right of the individual exists only so long as the Government of the country of which he is the son guarantees that right with the armed force of that country. With the withdrawal of that guarantee passes also that right. Thus in the United Kingdom citizens had once rights as against trades-unions which did them injury, but those rights they have no longer. When the growth of a great people impinges on the territorial dominion of another, the only court of appeal is war. Arbitration as the alternative to such war involves the assumption that the immense process of territorial change which has been continuing during the last two generations should suddenly cease, and that there should be no such change in future. But will a nation such as Germany, with the motivepower supplied by a high birth-rate within it, and with every instinct of patriotism alive in its heart, ever forego willingly the prospect of national aggrandisement and the hope of territorial gain?

If once we pass from words to things, from theory to fact, we see that no nation has against any other nation any rights whatever except those which it can enforce. If the case of small States be put forward as militating against the acceptance of this most obvious truth, the answer is that those minor Powers exist only by virtue of a purely temporary balance of forces between the great empires of the world. In actual fact no nation has one shred of right to one inch of territory. The English people will hold London, as the Prussian people will hold Berlin and the French CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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hold ench people will hold Paris, for just so long as they can hold it, and no longer. In no case will any imagined rights help them after their ability to sustain those rights by arms shall have departed.

The view thus set forth is based on history and on the verities of human nature. But this view is the exact opposite of that taken and acted upon by the Liberal party during and since the year 1906. That party took office filled to the mouth with contrary conceptions. To those conceptions they instantly began to give effect. They laid their deadly hands on the British Navy. In the Unionist naval programme for 1905-6 had figured a cruiser of the Dreadnought type, i.e., an 'Invincible.' The Liberal Ministry dropped that 'Invincible.' In the Admiralty memorandum, called the Cawdor Memorandum, issued in 1905, the necessity was declared that England should lay down four Dreadnoughts in each The new Cabinet laid down three in 1906, three in 1907, and only two in 1908-in other words, they laid down eight Dreadnoughts in those three years instead of twelve. In May, 1906, a first-class battleship, the Montagu, was lost on Lundy Isle. Liberal party left her unreplaced. Thus within the three years named the Liberal Government were directly responsible for a diminution of no fewer than six battle-units in what should have been our battle strength.

This diminution was idea expressed in act. Simultaneously an opposed idea held by the Government of a rival nation also took concrete shape. The root idea of our Government was the negation of competitive nationality by international agreement. root idea of the German Government was the victory of competitive nationality by armed force. The fatuity of Britain was the opportunity of Germany. As and because we decreased our Navy, she increased hers. The Amendment of 1906 was passed to the German Navy Act of 1900. Under that Amendment six Dreadnought cruisers were added to their programme. In 1908, as British reduction had continued, a second Amendment Bill passed the Reichstag, further increasing by four the number of Dreadnoughts to be laid down. In this year the Little Navyite may be said to have reached his greatest triumph. England laid down two battleships: Germany laid down four. On our two we spent 280,000l. altogether. On the German four was spent in the same period of time 1,600,000l.

But these reductions in our battle strength, infinitely serious as they have since been proved to be, were far indeed from represent. senting our total loss of sea power and of national safety. Provision of the desperately needed dock accommodation for our Dreadnoughts was neglected. The works at Rosyth were practically placed in a state of suspension. The extreme necessity of entering

additional men for the Navy was not met, and in consequence of

that gross omission sullen discontent—rich ground for a Socialist sower—prevails now on the lower deck of many of our ships wherein overworked officers have to overdrive inadequate crews. In destroyers Germany was allowed so far to gain upon us that the then First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. McKenna, had to admir in the House of Commons in June of last year the prodigious change to our disadvantage which had taken place. He acknowledged that whereas in March 1904, of destroyers not more than ten years of age from the date of their launch we had possessed 116, against 37 German, the Royal Navy at the date at which he spoke had but 78, while the German Navy possessed 79.

In our Estimates of last year, twenty of these vitally essential vessels were voted, of which only seven are yet complete, while in the same time the twelve laid down by Germany have been finished. As if this were not enough, it now appears, from a statement published in the Standard, that twelve further German destroyers have been built by a private German firm, and that these have now been acquired by the German Government.

Figures like these, however sparingly given, are apt to weary the general reader. But what they mean is that the British Fleet is threatened with inability to hold the North Sea. Without a superiority—and a large superiority—in destroyers, we cannot attempt to blockade the German ports; we cannot play the old game, the great game that was played by Nelson in

days of yore, and by Togo in modern time.

But the last count to be mentioned here against the naval administration of the Liberal party is the most immediately serious of all the charges that can be brought against them They have left the food of the people unguarded on the seas of the world. In six years, prior to these present Estimates, they have laid down but twenty-two protected and unprotected cruisers. In these new Estimates eight light cruisers only are provided for—a number of which the inadequacy is an outrage upon the entire nation. In August 1910, in an article in this Review, entitled 'The Unguarded Spaces of the Sea,' I stated the facts concerning our defenceless mercantile marine. The facts remain substantially unaltered. 'Every child knows that here's many that here,' was the remark, concerning the use of German merchant men in war made by the President of the German High which tried Mr. Stewart. It is now an absolute certainty that Germany will make the fullest possible use of the freedom, gither accorded or not withheld, under Convention No. 7 of The Hague Agreements. Hague Agreements, to convert her merchant vessels into merchant of-war.

The naval position of the British Empire, and the deterior tion which dasptaken placeurinulikaduning of the Harry ous six years

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stand desperately in need of being viewed as a whole, and not merely piecemeal. The English mind seems now to suffer from an ineradicable incapability to distinguish between word and deed. Mr. Churchill's statement in introducing the Navy Estimates is regarded and criticised as 'a good speech.' It matters to the country not one straw whether oratorically it was good or bad. What does concern us is the actual naval situation. This may be briefly described as follows: When the Liberal party acceded to office, our strength in battleships, according to the Dilke Return of 1906, was fifty-five against eighteen German. But as many of our vessels were far more powerful than their rivals, our battle strength was something like four times theirs. Now our battle strength is, relatively to Germany, about half what it was then. But this still existing superiority is in regard to battleships and battle-cruisers alone. In other respects the relative decline has been immensely greater. In the vital matter of the personnel, Germany is constantly creeping nearer to us. Her reserves are already vastly larger than ours. In docks on the North Sea, and in destroyers, her advance has been prodigious. Above all, through the arming of her merchantmen her power to inflict starvation upon the people of the United Kingdom has incomparably increased. If arrangements had been specially devised to ensure that starvation, none more effectual could be conceived than those which England herself has made. import most of our food. We leave it unguarded on the seas. We leave it unorganised and in the hands of private speculators on the land.

Eighteen months ago I ventured to urge in this Review the extreme need of an Act of Parliament to make all food in the country on the outbreak of war become the property of the Government of the day at the market rates previously obtaining. I venture to repeat that suggestion now, and to add to it this further recommendation—that a committee of experts be at once appointed to devise a scheme for the distribution, when war begins, of the food which will then be owned by the State, and the price of which the State can therefore fix. Let us select, man with British crews, and arm some of our own merchantmen; let us prepare to retaliate on those who are scheming for our destruction the financial injury which they design to us. Above all, let England emancipate herself from ideas of which the events among mankind during sixty past years, and now, prove the dire falsity.

SOCIALISTIC IDEAS AND PRACTICAL POLITICS

THE STATISTICS OF SOCIALISM

THE following observations are addressed to practical men, and are confined to such aspects of the general question in view as have an immediate bearing on the problems and movements of the hour. Such being the case, it is necessary to begin by providing ourselves with some working definition, which need not be academically precise, of what, for our present purpose, we are to understand by the term 'Socialism.'

Now, it is impossible to identify Socialism in any satisfactory way with all the opinions and proposals put forward by leading Socialists, partly because as to many of these such persons differ violently amongst themselves, and partly because as to many of them such persons are in general agreement with a number,

and perhaps even with the majority, of other people.

Out of the difficulty which thus arises we can, however, escape by a very short cut. Though we cannot identify Socialism with all the opinions and aims which are professed by its individual exponents, we can at all events identify it with those in respect of which Socialists are peculiar—which are professed by them and are professed by nobody else; and these, however some of them may conflict with others as to details, have the common characteristic of being one and all of them economic. to the production and distribution of purely material wealth Socialists as men may be interested in many other things as well but it is with but it is with regard to material wealth, and material wealth alone, that their opinions and their projects are in any was identifiably peculiar to themselves.

As grouped together by this definition, Socialists resemble a novel and peculiar school of doctors who, recognising, as every one else does, that the body politic is afflicted in various particular with pains or constitutions of the second with pains or sensations of distress which are obviously economic origin goals to distress which are economic origin, seek to submit the patient to some hither untried treatment, which untried treatment, which has never alleviated a single evil jet

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And the analogy between Socialists and doctors holds good in this further particular. Any ordinary doctor, when he visits a sick person, is bound to exhibit himself in two distinct characters. Before he can exhibit himself as a healer, he must exhibit himself as a discoverer of the nature of the disease which he is invoked to heal. Treatment must be preceded by diagnosis. In the same way Socialists, before they can have any ground for recommending that their patient—the body politic—should be submitted to some treatment of a totally novel kind, are bound to begin, and, as a matter of fact, they do begin, with an elaborate exposition of what they take the patient's condition to be-of the nature and extent of the maladies from which, in their view, he is suffering; of their origin, of their development thus far; and of the course which they will necessarily run unless there be a prompt application of the remedies which the Socialist advocates.

In dealing, then, with Socialism as related to practical politics, I shall aim at considering it under each of these aspects separately, and we will take it in the present article as identified with a characteristic diagnosis or estimate of the economic conditions of this country as they actually are to-day, of their origin, of their development thus far, and of future development as it must be unless the existing economic system of the whole modern world be subverted.

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THE HISTORY, ACCORDING TO SOCIALISTS, OF THE RICH, THE MIDDLE, AND THE POORER CLASSES, SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The socialistic diagnosis of society under the modern economic system in all progressive countries, and in this country in particular, may be compared partly to charts purporting to represent conditions at this or that special time, partly to a moving diorama purporting to show the manner in which conditions have changed between a date which we may roughly identify as the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the present day—the period which Socialists distinguish from all others as that which has witnessed the consummation of Capitalism in its modern form.

The distinctive character of the socialistic diagnosis of society is best shown by its representation of the alleged course of social changes. This may be briefly summed up in the general assertion that, under the modern economic system which has been dominant in this country since the opening years of the nine-teenth century at all events, a system under which wealth has increased as it never increased before, the whole of the increment has been monopolised by a relatively small class, whilst the rest

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of the community have not only not gained anything, but have in an economic sense been going from bad to worse. Some Socialists make this assertion in more qualified terms than others; but they are all unanimous in respect to its general tenour: and we need not trouble ourselves now to consider any minor differences; for the first broad fact which I shall endeavour to make plain is that this general representation of a society going from bad to worse, with the exception of one small class, is not merely an exaggeration of facts to a greater or less extent, but is an absolute and direct inversion of them.

In order to show that this criticism is no mere figure of speech, let me call the reader's attention to certain of the main details into which such a representation of the social movement resolves itself. For this purpose we will appeal to two writers, who, of all the exponents of Socialism, are incomparably the most conspicuous for their abilities, and who have, through their works, exerted the widest influence. The writers to whom I refer are Karl Marx and Henry George.

The diagnosis of the social movement, as made by Karl Marx about forty-five years ago, has been epitomised and reiterated by Socialists throughout our own country, Europe, and America in the following well-known words: 'Under the system of modern Capitalism, whilst the rich have been growing and are continuing to grow richer, the poor have been growing, and must continue to grow, poorer; and the middle classes, or persons of moderate

means, are concurrently being crushed out.'

Henry George, who became famous through his work, Progress and Poverty, about fifteen years later, reaffirmed all these propositions, not on the authority of Marx (with whose writings he had no acquaintance), but as the result of his own observations, and added to them yet another, which he made peculiarly his own. He identified the 'rich' of the modern world, whose riches are alone increasing, not with the capitalists but with the private owners of land; and his doctrine was that, in any progressive country, no matter how fast the products of labour, of ability, and of capital were increasing the rent of land must necessarily increase still faster, so that, not only all, but actually more than all, of the increment due to the efficiency of the population at large flows into the landlords' pockets, and 'poverty accompanies progress.

Now here we have a series of propositions which, if they have any meaning at all, relate to specific facts of industrial and statistical history. They relate, moreover, to a limited and clearly defined period, which to-day comprises a hundred or a hundred and ten years; and farther, though Marx was a German and Henry George an American, they both declared that their doctrines, whilst applicable to all countries in which modern Capitalism has

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developed itself, are illustrated most completely by the history of Great Britain—the country in which that system first attained predominance, and has exhibited its natural consequences on the largest and most startling scale.

If, therefore, these propositions are true at all, they must be pre-eminently true as applied to the history of Great Britain from

the dawn of the nineteenth century up to the present time.

Such being the case, abundant evidence exists which enables us to submit them to the test of actual facts. We will deal, then, with these propositions separately, and in the following order:

(1) That the increasing wealth of the rich during the course of the nineteenth century has been accompanied by a 'crushing out of the middle classes,' or a diminution in the number of

moderate incomes.

(2) That in this country, during the same period, the rent of land has increased more rapidly than income from all other sources, whether these be manual labour, or commercial and manufacturing enterprise.

(3) That, whilst during the period in question the rich have been growing richer, the poorer classes in this country have been

constantly growing poorer.

III

THE ALLEGED 'CRUSHING OUT' OF PERSONS OF MODERATE WEANS

In order to discuss this question with anything approaching precision, we must affix some definite meaning to the term 'moderate incomes.' It is enough here to say that, whatever the term 'moderate' may include or not include, moderate incomes, as spoken of in the present connexion, will certainly include all such as range from the assessment limit—that is to say, from 1501. or 1601.—up to 4001. a year. Now it so happens that a portion of the assessed income—namely, the earnings of 'persons,' private firms, and business and official employés, comprised in Schedules D and E, are individually enumerated in the Returns from year to year, where they are classified in accordance with their amount. I will not here enter on any series of elaborate statistics, I will confine myself to a few dates, and certain outstanding figures connected with them.

Let us begin, then, with the year 1800, and consider how affairs stood then. At that time, as we know from a variety of evidence connected with imposition and levying of the first and the second income-tax, the aggregate of incomes in Great Britain exceeding 60l. a year hardly amounted to a total of more than 100,000,000l., of which 30,000,000l. was the rental of agricultural land. Let us now turn to the year 1909 and consider the aggre-

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gate of incomes, ranging not from 60l. but from 160l. to 400l, which go to one section of the middle class alone—namely, the official and business employés assessed under Schedules D and E. This, exclusive of all income from property, amounted in round figures to not less than 90,000,000l.—or to nearly as much as the total of all the incomes in Great Britain from 60l. a year upwards in the year 1800, and exceeded by 23 per cent. the total of all such incomes as were then derived from anything but the ownership of agricultural land.

Let us next take the year 1850—about fifteen years previous to the publication of the celebrated work in which Marx elaborated the proposition that moderate incomes were disappearing—and the year 1880, a date fifteen years later. Between these two dates the population of this country had risen from 26,000,000 to 35,000,000—an increase of 34 per cent. If moderate incomes were really being crushed out, they must at all events have increased more slowly than the number of the population as a whole. But if we consult the income-tax returns, what do we actually find? We find that, whereas the population as a whole had increased by about one-third, the number of incomes between 1501.—1601. and 4001. had trebled itself, having risen from 177,000 to 330,000.

But a simpler kind of evidence bearing on the same question, and telling the same story, is perhaps that provided by the official returns which relate not to the number of persons paying tax on moderate incomes, but to the number of and value of houses. In these returns all the dwelling-houses in Great Britain are, according to their annual values, divided into a series of groups, and the yearly increase in the number of each class of house is shown. Now the annual value of a house gives us, as a general rule (though, of course, there are various exceptions), a very fair indication of the means of the family occupying it; house-rent, in the case of the middling classes, at all events, being taken to represent on an average from one-eighth to one-tenth of the family income. Thus, houses worth 20l. and 40l. a year will broadly represent incomes between 160l. and 400l., houses worth between 40l. and 801. will similarly represent incomes between 4001. and 8001. whilst houses worth more than 80l. a year will represent incomes Thus, the yearly increase in the number of 800l. and upwards. of houses of each class will provide us with an index, substantially if not absolutely accurate, of the increase in the number of the incomes which lie within the corresponding limits.

Let us consider, then, what has been happening since the year's Report of the Commissioners of Inland Royana.

Inland Revenue.

Of houses worth more than 80l. a year—the houses of families having incomes of 800l. a year and upwards—the number half annually, furning this period, was horselessed, market than 1000.

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built 30. Of houses worth between 80l. a year and 40l., the number built annually has averaged as much as 10,000.

Of houses worth between 40l. a year and 20l.—corresponding to incomes between 160l. a year and 400l.—the number built

annually has averaged about 27,000.

These figures, representing the conditions of our own day, speak sufficiently for themselves. They show us that persons possessing moderate incomes—incomes ranging from 160l. to 800l. a year—instead of being crushed out, are exhibiting a numerical increase which is thirty-seven times as great as that of the whole body of the rich and the comparatively rich together; while if these last figures be taken with those which I quoted previously, they show us that the classes which, for more than forty years, Socialists have declared to be dwindling and disappearing before our eyes, are the precise classes whose increase forms one of the principal features by which the present is distinguished from all former times.

Here we have one example of what I meant when I said that socialistic diagnoses of society are not merely distortions of the truth, but are fundamental and absolute inversions of it.

From this example we will now pass on to another—that provided by Henry George, not as a theorist, but as a professed exponent of facts.

IV

THE ALLEGED ABSORPTION OF INCREASING WEALTH BY LAND-RENT

The whole of George's reasoning, which in many respects is very able, rests on an assumption as to fact, with which reasoning has nothing to do-an assumption the truth of which was, so he said, exemplified by the affairs of this country on a greater scale than by those of any other. This is the assumption that, in any progressive country, the consideration paid to landowners for the use of the earth's surface, as distinct from any buildings which the industry of man may place on it-or, in other words, land-rent pure and simple, increases at a faster rate than does the national income as a whole; so that if, at a time when the income of any country was as 100, the rent of land had been (let us say) as 20, it would, by the time that the total had doubled itself and become 200, have risen in greater proportion and become not 40, but 50. Having been only a fifth of the smaller total, it would have risen to being a fourth of the larger; the ultimate result, already in sight here, and not far off in America, being that the landowners, if not dispossessed of their property, will take between them the entire national income, except such a fraction of it as may be necessary to keep the rest of the population alive.

Here again, as I have said, we have a proposition as to hard

facts-and more especially as to facts relating to our own islands; and here again we have a proposition which can be tested by abundant evidence.

As I said just now, in the year 1800 the aggregate of incomes in Great Britain exceeding 60l. a year had been estimated for purposes of income-tax at something just over 100,000,000l. Ex. perience and subsequent criticism showed this estimate to have been substantially correct; and out of this total it was agreed by all authorities that the rent of agricultural land accounted for about 30,000,0001.

Let us now turn to the year 1908. In that year the sum of all net private incomes in excess, not of 60l. a year but 160l. amounted to 788,000,000l. If the fundamental proposition of Henry George were correct, the land-rental, which formed at the dawn of the nineteenth century at least 30 per cent. of all incomes exceeding 60l., would by this time form very much more than 30 per cent. of all incomes exceeding 160l. But what do we find to be the case? Let us turn to the assessments for that year under Schedule A, and take not only agricultural rent, which is given in a column by itself, but the rent of building-sites also, which is included in the assessment of houses. This being taken at as much as one-fifth of the total, the site-rental for that year will have amounted to about 42,000,000l.; while the gross rental of agricultural lands was about 52,000,000l.; the entire land-rental, as distinct from the rent of buildings, having amounted approximately to 94,000,000l. That is to say, whereas the rental of agricultural land alone amounted some hundred years ago to very nearly one-third of all incomes exceeding 601., the rental of such land with the rental of building-sites added to it forms to-day hardly so much as one-eighth of the total of all incomes exceeding 1601.

Let me mention one fact more, which is at once instructive and amusing. After he had, by his doctrine as to land-rent, achieved fame in America, George visited England with the object of preaching it there, and among the various promises held out by him to the people of this country, if only they would adopt his principles, and by means of a single tax make over all land-rent to the State, were the following—expressed in what substantially are his own words. 'Only give me,' he said, 'all the land-rents of the United Kingdom; and, besides performing without any farther taxes all the present functions of your Imperial and your local government, I will supply every house with free lighting and heat, and supply free power to every factory likewise. promises were made in the early 'eighties. The land-rent of the country at that time, apart from the rent of buildings, amounted in round for a country at that time apart from the rent of buildings, amounted in round for a country at that time, apart from the rent of buildings, amounted in round for a country at that time, apart from the rent of buildings, amounted in round for a country at that time, apart from the rent of buildings, amounted in round for a country at that time, apart from the rent of buildings, amounted in round for a country at that time, apart from the rent of buildings, amounted in round for a country at that time, apart from the rent of buildings, amounted in round for a country at that time, apart from the rent of buildings, amounted in round for a country at that time, apart from the rent of buildings, amounted in round for a country at that time are the country at the cou in round figures to 89,000,000l. Now this sum would no doubt

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have defrayed the Imperial expenditure of the time, and left 10 per cent. of surplus, but it would not have so much as approached what even at that time was the public expenditure as a whole, if the local be added to the Imperial. It may, however, in fairness to George, be urged that according to him land-rent would increase in the future far more rapidly than it had done even in the then recent past; and that he ought to be judged by what would be the situation to-day if the trial of his principles had been protracted up to the present time. Such a test is a fair one. Let us apply it. In the early 'eighties the Imperial expenditure of this country approached, but it did not reach, 80,000,000l. annually. In the year 1909 it amounted to 157,000,000l.—that is to say, there was an increase of approximately 77,000,000l. Let us now examine the returns relating to the rent of land. In the year 1886 the gross total of agricultural rents amounted to 63,000,000l., to which one-fifth of the rent of 'houses' must be added in respect of building-sites. These two sums together amount to 89,000,000l. Since the year 1886 the rent of buildingsites has risen from 26,000,000l. to 43,000,000l.—an increase of 17,000,000l.; and the rent of agricultural land has fallen from 63,000,000l. to 52,000,000l.—a decrease of 11,000,000l.; the total land-rent to-day being about 95,000,000l. If, then, George's principles are to be tested, not by the results he could have extracted from them twenty-five years ago, but by those which he would, if alive, be able to extract to-day, we find that, instead of any vast surplus having developed itself, available for extending the present activities of the State and supplying everybody gratis with heat, light, and power, he would be faced with a deficit of considerably over 60,000,000l. before he had discharged the functions of the Imperial Government alone, and before he had spent a penny on roads, on drainage, or on education. In other words, instead of land-rent having increased more rapidly than public expenditure, one branch of public expenditure alone has increased almost exactly ten times as fast as land-rent.

And now let us close this question by comparing the increase of land-rent with the increase of incomes derived from other sources, as shown by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue in their reports for the years 1886 and 1909 respectively. The total reviewed under Schedules C, D, and E, together with the rental of buildings apart from sites, amounted in the year 1886 to 471,000,000l. The corresponding total for the year 1909 was 895,000,000l. Thus, both increases being taken at their gross amounts, the increase of income from sources other than land was 424,000,000l.; while the corresponding gross increase from land, which is, according to George, swallowing up every increase from every other source, amounted to the sum, relatively microscopic, of 5,000,000l.

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If anyone desire to verify these figures he need merely study for himself the Statistical Abstracts for the past twenty-five years, and compare either the gross or net amounts assessed in respect of land-rent (including one-fifth of the rent which is given as that of 'houses') with the gross or the net totals assessed or reviewed for the general purposes of income-tax, and he will find that, whereas about a quarter of a century ago land-rent formed 14 per cent. of the total, ten years later the proportion had sunk to 12 per cent., and is at the present time not so much as 9½.

Figures might be multiplied in illustration of this same conclusion. It must suffice here to say that, in whatever way we approach the matter, we find that land-rent, rural and urban, instead of forming an increasing proportion of an increasing national income, forms year by year a quantity which is relatively

less and less.

Here, then, we have before us two of the main assertions which figure in socialistic diagnoses of society as it is now—the assertion that every increase in the wealth produced under modern conditions is swallowed up by the rent of land; and the assertion that, under these same conditions, the number of moderate incomes has been constantly and is still diminishing—assertions insisted on with every variety of confident emphasis by the two most influential thinkers that the socialistic movement has produced; and we have seen that each of them is so absurdly and fantastically fallacious that it is not merely an ordinary untruth, but the truth turned upside down.

V

THE SOCIALISTIC ASSERTION THAT THE POORER CLASSES ARE BECOMING POORER

I have, however, called attention to these particular assertions first, not because at this moment they are the most important of the fallacies here in question, but because they are representative, and because the refutation of them, lying as it does in a nutshell, will prepare the reader for an examination of a fallacy more important still. This is an assertion of far wider scope than those relating to the middle classes and the landowners. It is the assertion, which is still a commonplace on all socialistic platforms, that while, for more than a century, the modern capitalistic system has been making the rich richer, it has been making the poorer classes—or, in other words, the great majority of the population ever poorer and poorer. We shall find, when we put this to the test of definite facts, that this is an inversion of the truth even more preposterous than the others.

In order to test this assertion fairly, we must be careful to see what those by whom it is made mean by it. Even Marx himself,

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who is mainly responsible for its acceptance, would not have denied that some members of the poorer classes, such as specially skilled craftsmen or mechanics, earn much higher wages now than were earned by any of their predecessors of a hundred years ago. The assertion is only meant to apply to the poorer classes as a whole; and it can only signify that the income which they enjoy collectively is growing less in proportion to the total number of the recipients, and would yield less and less to each, if year by year it were divided equally among all. It remains for us to consider who 'the poorer classes' are. How are they defined by those who make this assertion with regard to them? So far as our own country is concerned, the language of Socialists in their excursions into the domain of statistics show clearly enough how this phrase 'the poorer classes' is understood by them. They use it broadly as comprehending all such families as are supported on incomes which are not liable to income-tax, or which do not exceed 160l. a year; while the richer classes, though not the conspicuously rich, are invariably identified, for purposes of broad contrast, with those whose incomes are comprised in the aggregate on which tax is levied.

Let us, then, consider with as much precision as we can what is the aggregate to-day of individual earnings and incomes below the assessment limit of 160l. Our sources of information with regard to this question have during recent years increased to a remarkable degree, partly owing to fresh investigations on the part of the Board of Trade into the wages of manual labour, and partly owing to an inquiry, conducted with semi-official assistance, by a committee of eminent statisticians, into the earnings and incomes (not exceeding 1601.) of persons other than wage-earning manual workers. The results of this inquiry were submitted to the British Association at Sheffield, in a report which has since been published. It is impossible to discuss its details, which would involve a survey of some forty different groups of incomes; but the general conclusion there set forth is this: that the total income earned by the class in question—by the 'lower middle-class,' as it is often loosely called—amounts to over 300,000,000l. regard to the wages of manual labour and services, the aggregate earned by twelve broadly distinguishable groups (of which all but two are under the cognisance of the Board of Trade) cannot according to the latest evidence, to less than 860,000,000l.; though precise knowledge as to this point will be impossible till a complete analysis of the last Census returns shall These two sums, which make a total of have been issued. 1,160,000,000*l*., represent earned income only. To this must be added a further sum, amounting to something between 50,000,000l. and 60,000,000l., which arises from property and investments, the

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distribution of which, as Mr. Bowley observes, is uncertain, but which the two classes here in question divide between them. The grand total of incomes not exceeding 160l. is thus not less, at all events, than 1,210,000,000l. The number of the population exclusive of payers of income-tax and their families, may be taken at the present time as 37,000,000 or 38,000,000. average income per head of the population exempt from incometax-or, in other words, of 'the poorer classes,' as that phrase is generally understood—is appreciably in excess, to say the least of it, of 30l. a year.

Let us now turn to the beginning of the nineteenth century. As I had occasion to mention just now, when dealing with the question of land-rent, the total of incomes exceeding 60l. a year in Great Britain-for Ireland was not then included-did not amount to much more than 100,000,000l.; and the total income of Great Britain, according to the highest serious estimates, did but slightly exceed, if it amounted to, as much as 200,000,000l. What proportion of this went to persons with more, and what went to persons with less, than the particular sum of 160l. a year, we have no means of knowing, for, as Macullough with justifiable indignation observes, all the official records which might have given us such detailed information were destroyed. detailed information, however, will not be necessary here. stead of dealing with the average income of one section of the population, let us take the nation as a whole, and consider what would then have been the average income per head if everything, from the earnings of the humblest casual labourer up to the profits of the greatest merchants, the rent-rolls of the greatest landowners, and the entire revenue of George III., with his civil list, had been pooled about sixteen years before the battle of Waterloo, and doled out in equal shares to everybody. The population of Thus, the average Great Britain was at that time 10,000,000. income per head—the maximum rendered possible by the whole existing wealth of the country—would have been 201., or, according to the country—would have been 201. ing to the computations of one sanguine statistician of the period, it might perhaps have amounted to 21l.

What, then, when we compare them, do the figures for these They mean that the average income per two periods mean? head of the poorer classes to-day is greater by some 50 per cent than the largest corresponding income which could possibly have been received by anybody if, at the time which Socialists describe as the dawn of modern capitalism, all the wealth of Great Britain had been not had been nationalised by a socialistic State, and the dreams of the wildest of modern Socialists realised by a reduction of all the citizens to the same financial level. Or, to make the case reference of the case representation of the more clear, we may present it to the imagination thus-CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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entire income producible in this country by all the forces of its inhabitants three or four generations ago had been equally distributed amongst the population then existing, and if, subsequently increasing in proportion to the increase of the population, it had year by year been similarly distributed till to-day, the poorer classes to-day would possess a collective income which would be less by more than 30 per cent. than the income which is actually their own.

I mention specific figures; but, to repeat what I have said before, the argument does not require an insistence on their absolute exactitude. If anyone prefers to do so, let him take the figures of Mr. Chiozza Money, who aims estimating the income of the poorer classes at a minimum. According to Mr. Money's computations, the income of these classes per head, instead of exceeding 30l., only reaches to If we accept this figure, the fact on which I have been just insisting suffers indeed some slight modification, but its essential character is unchanged. The poorer classes as a whole will, at the present day, be still dividing between them a collective income which, relatively to their present numbers, exceeds anything that would have been possible in the days of their great-great-grandfathers by an equal division of everything that was then produced or producible. The actual course of events, however we may seek to minimise it, has been the exact opposite of that which is ascribed to it by the formula of the Socialists. Instead of having been defrauded of anything that they once possessed, the 'poorer classes' of this country, under the system of modern capitalism, have done more than appropriate everything in the way of wealth, per head of their total number, which could have possibly been called into existence when that system was first establishing itself.

Of course this statement has the defect of all similar generalisations. It is made in terms of averages, and assumes that distribution is equal. But the fallacy to which it is opposed 1s a generalisation of the same kind, and just as this is not meant to deny that many poor people have become richer, so the counterassertion of the truth constitutes no denial of the fact that, of a class which has grown richer as a whole, certain sections have

remained as poor as they ever were.

Having mentioned this aspect of the case, to which I shall return hereafter, let me now pause to remark that this question of economic development, which is concerned with the history of the past, and inferentially with anticipations of the future, may strike some persons as being more or less academic, and not connected directly enough with the pressing actualities of the present. Such a view, let me say with emphasis, is altogether erroneous,

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even if we desire to confine ourselves to such examinations of facts as are calculated to influence the opinion of the least-instructed sections of the community. A man who is shivering with cold but is on his way to a warm fire, is practically far more comfortable than a man who, warm for the moment, watches his last log burn, and knows that he will be freezing presently. In the same way the existing condition of things, whatever it may be in itself, is coloured for all who contemplate it according as they believe it to be a stage in an upward or downward progress. The possession, therefore, of some true conception of the actual tendency of events would, for this reason alone, even if there were no other, form a primary element of any sane public opinion; but. in addition to this general reason, there is one which is more Not only does the popular attitude towards economic conditions as they are depend on whether they are taken as representing a fall from better to worse, or a rise from worse to better, but the socialistic estimate of existing conditions in themselves is intimately bound up with the socialistic fable as to their history, and is, indeed, that fable translated into a practical form, and influencing the passions and the problems of the hour in which we are now living.

VI

THE SOCIALISTIC MYTH AS TO THE PRESENT INCOME OF THE RICH

Let us pass, then, from the socialistic diagnosis of economic conditions in their development, and examine the socialistic estimate, now commonly current, of such conditions as they are at the present time. The main feature of these estimates is the assumption that the proportion of the national income appropriated by those who are vaguely classified as the rich is 50 enormous, so overwhelming, so inexhaustible, that if only, whether by strikes or taxation, it could be tapped, like a reservoir of water, in a sufficient number of places, it would flood every aver age household with an almost incredible opulence, and transfigure almost past recognition the entire aspect of society. This conception of existing conditions would be merely the logical consequence of modern economic tendencies, if these were really as Socialists represent them. Everybody knows and admits that, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the increase of our national income relatively to the population has been enormous, and if during that period, small incomes have been growing smaller, and moderate incomes have been decreasing in number, all the new wealth produced, which cannot but have gone somewhere, necessarily have passed into the hands of the richer, of the Since, however, as we have seen, both these or of the richest.

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assumptions are erroneous—since of the new wealth in question a vast proportion at all events has gone to make small incomes continuously larger and larger, and moderate incomes continuously more numerous, it follows naturally, as a matter of a priori certitude, that the wealth of the richer classes, whatever may have been its increase absolutely, cannot possibly bear to the whole anything like that proportion which the Socialists, with their false premises and their inflamed imaginations, attribute to it.

Let us turn, then, once more to definite facts and figures, and

consider what at the present time the actual proportion is.

The entire income, from all sources, of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom is now, according to the latest computations. about 1,970,000,000l.—a total which accords substantially with the figures which I have just been giving. prises one element, however, which it is necessary to distinguish from the rest. This consists of an income which comes into this country from abroad, and does not originate in the employment of home labour. Now it is perfectly obvious that, according to socialistic principles, this income from abroad, if it ought not to remain in the hands of its present possessors, ought just as little to belong to any other class in this country. It ought to belong to workers in America, in India, in South Africa, or any other region in which the business of producing it is conducted; and, as Mr. Keir Hardie has very justly observed, it ought, if the principles of Socialism and of the Labour party mean anything, never to come into the United Kingdom The only income, therefore, with which we are here concerned as the subject of socialistic analysis, and the subject of any possible socialistic redistribution, is the income which is produced in this country itself, through the activity of its own inhabitants. Now the income from abroad (represented by an invested capital of approximately three thousand millions, of which nearly one-half is in India, South Africa, and North America) must amount, according to the latest figures, to something like 200,000,000l., and if this be deducted from the national income in its entirety we get a sum of about 1,770,000,000l. as the total income produced in Great Britain and Ireland.

How much, then, of this sum goes to those who can be called 'the rich'? Once again we require a definition of terms; for without it we shall talk at random. Mr. Chiozza Money, when tendering his evidence to the Select Committee on Income-tax, replied to a question concerning this particular point that he would include under the term 'rich' all whose incomes were as much as several thousands a year. We will, however, here, for the purpose of the present discussion, use the term in a much more We will suppose that 'riches,' comprehensive sense.

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signifying any income which, on account of its magnitude, Socialists would regard as illegitimate, begin with incomes in excess of 800l. a year. We can hardly put the limit lower when we consider that one of the Socialists representing 'Labour' in Parliament not only receives 400l. a year as a member, but nearly as much again as the secretary of some party organisation.

Let us begin accordingly with reviewing such specific informa. tion as we possess with regard to those incomes which do not exceed the limit which has just been mentioned. So far as those are concerned which do not exceed 1601.—incomparably the largest factor in the case—I have pointed out already that they amount to an aggregate sum of certainly not less than 1,210,000,000l., and I need not recapitulate the details of which this sum is composed. We have now to compute, and to add to this, the aggregate of incomes lying between 160l. a year and 8001. Our data, which are provided by the reports of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, though voluminous, are incomplete, and yield a result which must fall short of the truth. are comprised in a particular portion of the income-tax returns which records the number of incomes earned individually by 'persons,' by firms (other than companies), and by official and business employees whose salaries exceed 160l. a year. private firms,' as enumerated in these records, are computed to represent on an average two and a-half partners each, and will so be treated here. According to the latest returns, which were issued late last year, the number of incomes between 160l. and 8001. which were thus separately identified was approximately 1,100,000, to which must be added the partners in about 30,000 small companies yielding an average profit per business of less than 1000l., and also certain farmers. The incomes of these persons, as earned by professions or businesses, amount to a gross total of nearly 230,000,000l., to which must be added an unearned income which amounts to over 100,000,000l.—nearly 50,000,000l. being identifiable; and which is derived from lands, houses, Government stock, and shares in the larger companies. The net total of these incomes, earned and unearned, cannot be less than 320,000,0001.

If these assessed incomes not exceeding 800l. be taken together with those not exceeding 160l., the aggregate of the two will be about 1,530,000,000l. produced by the efforts of workers in the United Kingdom, about one-tenth of this arising from property, and nine-tenths being direct earnings.

Cornpare, then, this home-produced income of more than 1,500,000,000l. with the total income produced in the United Kingdom, amounting, as we have seen, to some 1,770,000,000l. and what is the proportion of the total which is taken by persons

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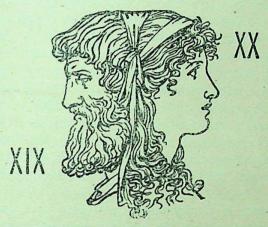
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NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. CCCCXXIII-MAY 1912

CANADA AND THE NAVY

A CANADIAN VIEW

In one sense it is unfortunate that Canada should be making history so rapidly. Her best friends, and those who appreciate most thoroughly the pregnant meaning of her swiftly succeeding decisions, hardly have time to adjust their mental perceptions to the consequences of one before another is up for discussion. Yet it is vitally important that the people of the Mother Country, who not only will be greatly affected by these decisions, but whose opinions regarding them react powerfully upon the Canadian judgment, should take pains to understand the situation, and so prepare themselves to 'play up' to each movement in the way best calculated to forward our common British interests.

The decision regarding Reciprocity with the United States seems by now to be perfectly understood in Great Britain. We find even the stoutest Free Traders, who have a constitutional predilection in favour of slaying all tariffs without even waiting for them to plead 'guilty,' going out of their way to express gratification that Canadians, at all events, are bound to remain

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British. And, in saying this, they hit upon the true reason for

the rejection of reciprocity.

But that decision has barely been recorded when another, only less momentous, is required of the Canadian people. The change of Government which followed the rejection of reciprocity wiped some other things off the slate; and, among them, the Canadian Navy. One of the first definite declarations of the new Ministry was that, whatever it might do, it would not ask the country to proceed with the naval plans of its predecessor. The Premier, the Minister of Marine, and the leader of the Nationalist wing of the Government united in this statement.

As to the future, they announce nothing but 'a clean slate.' The new Minister of Marine is to cross the Atlantic to 'consult the Admiralty'; and those critical consultations will probably be in progress soon after these lines are printed. The policy of the new Government, in any case, is not to be framed until the Minister has returned from London and is in a position to tell his colleagues what the naval experts of the Empire think Canada

should do.

Now, there is a very strong suspicion in Canada that the Separatist naval policy of the late Government was not welcomed by the private judgment of the naval authorities of the United Kingdom. The Lords of the Admiralty were no doubt polite. More than that, they were diplomatic. It would not have been good international policy at the time when the late Ministers went to London to 'consult the Admiralty,' to advertise the fact that 'Canada refused to come to the help of the Empire' in the way the Imperial Government thought she should. Hence if it seemed clear to the British naval advisers that Canada would decline to do what they would have liked to suggest, but that she would do something else which might be presented to Europe as loyal and enthusiastic support, obviously their best policy was to keep their suggestions to themselves—or, at all events, from the public—and hail the only possible Canadian action as a wise and helpful and loyal proposal.

This would not be duplicity—it would be diplomacy. Yet the effect would be to deceive that section of the Canadian people who were genuinely in earnest in their desire to help sustain the seapower of Britain. At the moment it may have been necessary, I am not arguing that point. But it is exceedingly difficult for us out here in Canada to believe that, while a policy of almost ruthless concentration was decided on for the ships wholly controlled by the Admiralty, precisely the reverse policy was genuinely sired in the case of ships which were to be controlled by the Canadian Government. British ships on the Canadian station were taken home; but British naval experts professed to favour at all events, the graduation of the canadian decided the graduation of the ships which were to be controlled by the Canadian Government. British ships on the Canadian station were taken home; but British naval experts professed to favour at all events, the graduation of the canadian controlled the controlled by the canadian station were taken home; but British naval experts professed to favour at all events, the graduation of the canadian controlled the canadian controlled the controlled the canadian station.

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ships to be kept on the Canadian station. That would seem to be either a very poor compliment to the prospective Canadian ships. or an effort to make 'the neighbours' think that all was harmony in 'the family,' when, as a matter of fact, the eldest son was

shirking his fair share of the work.

But, whatever may have been the necessities of the case before, there is no reason at all to-day why the Admiralty should not speak its mind. In fact, there is every reason why it should. I believe that I am well within the mark in saying that public opinion in Canada is overwhelmingly in favour of either doing something effective or doing nothing at all. We are deeply and permanently disgusted with the puerile policy of trying to do just enough to placate those who want something done, but not enough to disturb those who want nothing done. The late Government tried its best to 'run with the hare and hunt with the hounds'; and it ended in the ditch. Whatever else we may be, we are all out of conceit now with that sort of thing. We may refuse to do anything, and so keep our money; but we are not going to spend our money and yet bear the stigma of doing nothing.

Now, those who want to do something recognise that they themselves are not naval experts; nor are they au fait with the foreign policy of the Empire. In the most natural way possible they look to the Foreign Office and the Admiralty for advice. These institutions have given many lifetimes to the study of precisely the problem that confronts us in this unwarlike country, which is just about to celebrate its 'Century of Peace.' can tell us better than anybody else what we ought to do. We think it is their duty to be frank with us-their duty to the Empire, their duty to the people of Canada who desire that Empire to last, and who perceive that their own national existence is bound up with the life of that Empire. It goes without saying that this section of our people will welcome the fullest and frankest advice from the experts who live in the Capital of the Empire.

Now let us turn at once to what some people will regard as the most difficult feature of the situation—the Nationalist party of Quebec. Their notoriety rests chiefly upon their opposition to the naval policy of the late Government. They defeated a full year ago a candidate of the Liberals in a Liberal stronghold by crying 'A bas la Marine!' They have undoubtedly created among the Quebec habitants a deep distrust of any Canadian navy, telling them that their sons will be carried off on it to fight in wars in which they have no concern. That has been, indeed, their chief argument against the naval law—the fear of personal They have even talked Conscription-always an affrighting word. The habitant, though he is thrifty, has not

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been stirred up against the cost half so much as against the menace to his boys.

But this fear that his sons may be drafted into the navy can apply only to a local Canadian navy. While our own warships are prowling about our own coasts, it is easy to make unsophisticated people believe that they might swoop down and carry off the stalwart young son of the farm in some time of national stress. But no one has any such fear of the Imperial navy. It has been in existence for a long time, and it has never 'drafted' a Canadian boy yet. It would be well-nigh impossible for the most unscrupulous 'stump speaker' to convince the most rural audience that the British navy had suddenly turned dangerous and might kidnap

Canadian youth at a moment's notice.

Now, frankly, this seems to me to be 'a way out' for the leaders of the Nationalist party. They can never consent to a Canadian navy without stultifying their whole campaign. But they would be put in no such awkward position by advocating an augmentation of the Imperial navy. Such an augmentation is, indeed, going on to-day, and was very vigorously 'speeded up' a year or so ago; but they are raising no alarm over it. So far as the danger of personal service is concerned, what difference does it make whether that augmentation be paid for by the British taxpayer or out of the Canadian Treasury? I do not venture to say that the Nationalists would take this way out—I only say that they could; and that they could not possibly get out at all, with any shreds of decency left, if asked to support any variation whatever of the Canadian navy idea.

Then there is another point. Such unpopularity of the navy as exists in Quebec is due largely to the fact that no one has ever argued before the French voters in its favour with courage and The late Government were in a position of apology. They did not try to show the French Roman Catholics of Quebec -what is perfectly true-that they have more to lose by the collapse of British sea-power than probably any other section of the varied populations of the Empire; they merely pointed out in a deprecatory fashion that their offence was 'a little one. ever a party deserved defeat on a specific issue, the Canadian Liberals deserved defeat in Quebec on the navy issue. up a policy which, to succeed, must always be a policy of courage; and they fought it as a policy of cowardice and explanation and retreat. The French voter never had the case presented to him. He suffered from flagrant foul play. The Nationalists attacked, but no one defended. The impression inevitably created on the mind of the French voter was that the navy was an admitted evil, imposed upon a reluctant Liberal Government by he Imperialists of Ontario, and that he was asked to say that he did not mind to the Pyblin Well and a saked to say the sake

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To his credit he refused to play the hypocrite. When asked his opinion he told the truth as both sides taught it to him. He was by far the most virtuous partner to the transaction.

But how different the position would be if the truth were laid before the French Roman Catholic people of Quebec! They are a devout people, and they love their language; and yet the truth is that they enjoy their cherished religious privileges, and are allowed to use their language in the courts, in the Provincial Legislature, and even in the Dominion Parliament, solely by reason of British treaty guarantees, which would disappear if Canada ceased to be a British Colony. Now, it follows, with the relentless sequence of a proposition in Euclid, that if Britain loses her command of the sea Canada will speedily cease to be a British Let us look at the situation frankly. The American Republic is a living nation, with ambitions, national pride, confidence in its power to confer benefits upon any feeble people taken under its wing, and a desire-common to all nations-to add to its strength and prestige. It is exactly as unselfish and philanthropic as the British Empire-but no more so. And it must be blind as a bat if it does not see that, if it could add Canada to its territories, it would become in a few decades by far the greatest English-speaking nation in the world, and, indeed, the most powerful single Government on earth.

The hegemony of the English-speaking world may even now be said to be up for competition. By reason of its navy and Empire, the United Kingdom still possesses it in reality; but a denial of this precedence is already heard very audibly from the United States. The currents of world politics have of late brought the American nation into the company of the other Englishspeaking communities in an intimate sense, which for a long time was lacking; but that very welcome arrival synchronised neatly with another arrival—the arrival of the United States in a position of power-which made it doubtful whether it followed Britain in their mutual movements in foreign politics, or marched beside We have to some extent the case of Prussia and Austria repeated, with the Americans playing the rôle of the Prussians. We British are still ahead; but our leadership is challenged by a virile and growing people. We still have the Imperial Crown; but a young giant has arisen who has his eye on a possible Versailles.

Suppose Canada Now that new 'Versailles' may be Ottawa. to have at some time fifty or sixty millions of people—a modest estimate. If we had previously been joined to the United States, we might then calculate on anything from one hundred and fifty to two hundred million people under one Government—a monster nation, covering a continent and dominating a hemisphere. What other nation in the world dare oppose its will? To what other CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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nation would Australasia look for protection from the Asiatic perlift the British navy had been crushed—always a condition antecedent to the capture of Canada by the American Republic? Yet protection means, in such a case, alliance, if not absorption; and the Washington Government would thus have two continents under its control. Is not such a prospect dazzling enough to stir the ambition of any people? Is not such a prospect written plainly on the possibilities of the future for the American people to read? Is it not as certain as that hunger lures the eagle from his eyrie, that the American people will actively covet Canada on the day when the protection of the British navy is withdrawn, and we are left, less than ten million people, unwarlike and unarmed, to defend the most tempting prize ever offered a great nation in historic time?

Thus I cannot see that it is unduly pessimistic, or an implication of anything like an unworthy ambition to our American neighbours, to say that the collapse of British sea-power will almost certainly be followed by a determined effort to bring Canada into the American Union. The opportunities which will give such an effort its chance will be many and full of menace. A dispute with Japan as to Asiatic immigration into British Columbia might compel us to call for the help of the American fleet. Nothing but the Monroe Doctrine would save us from being regarded by Germany as the richest prize won by its presumed great victory in the North Sea. The boundary water-powers and channels of navigation would offer countless subjects of dispute in which our small people, notoriously unable to fight on equal terms, would be exposed constantly to humiliation, open robbery, and serious material disadvantage. To-day the American newspapers are mulcted of many millions a year because they cannot get access to our forests. An Annexation campaign would always promise them escape from this impost. American 'Trusts' see a great and growing market here out of which they are barred by our tariff; and it is better to stand between a she-bear and her cubs than a 'Trust' and its prey. These are only a few of the forces which would constantly whip up American ambition to seize the greatest place in the modern world merely by extending the undoubted benefits of free American institutions to the benighted and backward Canadian people.'

Then, when the change came, what of Quebec? Would its Church retain the privileges now enjoyed under British treaties and the Canadian Constitution? There is not a privileged Church in the United States. Would the Roman Catholics keep their separate schools in Quebec and Ontario? There is not separate school '—a public school under Roman Catholic control—in the United States. Would the French language survive and be respected for the Courts and in Congress? Collection this point consult

Thus every one of these rights and privileges rests Louisiana. at last upon the British Navy; and yet we are told that Quebec, of all places, is reluctant to help sustain that navy. Quebec is Quebec is simply suffering from the fact that she has never had the case presented to her fairly and frankly by her She has heard nothing but virulent criticism met by deprecatory apology. More than that, the naval scheme which has been submitted to her judgment was a worthless scheme—a scheme which frightened the Quebec farmer who loves his boys to stay at home, but could not be shown to be of any value for purposes of naval defence. The Quebec farmer is a shrewd observer; and he knows that he is not in any danger of naval attack, and so cannot be persuaded that he needs a local squadron. He could be shown, however, that his most cherished privileges might be wrested from him as the result of a British naval defeat in the North Sea, when he would be the first to favour making such a defeat impossible. It is not necessary for him to be an Imperialist; it is only necessary for him to have an enlightened affection for his language and his religion. And is not all wise Imperialism based

upon the advantages which we see it will bring to each of us? So-' to return to our muttons'-there is no important section of the Canadian people who would not welcome a frank statement from the British Admiralty as to the manner in which they think Canada can best help sustain British sea-power. It is quite possible that the British Admiralty might ask more than we can do; but they can at any rate indicate the line along which we They can choose for us between the two principal should move. policies into which possible action naturally divides itself—a Separatist navy eventually built, controlled and drilled in Canadian waters; and a Canadian addition to the Imperial Navy, built and controlled and drilled by the British Admiralty. If they will put their stamp of approval unmistakably upon either of these plans, the Canadian people will do the rest. In two words, the British Admiralty can to-day get the sort of Canadian assistance it wants, if it has the courage to ask for it in the hearing of the Canadian people; and, to a very great extent, if the new Canadian naval policy be abortive, the blame will rest upon the British naval experts who feared to trust a loyal people who have just proven their worthiness to be trusted by overthrowing a popular Government and rejecting a trade proposal at one time favoured by both parties, solely because they wanted Canada to remain permanently British.

The Admiralty must recognise, however, that there are sinister forces in Canada which will clamour for a local navy. No grafter' will like to see money which might be spent in Canada spent in Great Britain. No local politician whose constituency hopes for named ships and is likely to favour a policy which may

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at least delay the satisfaction of that legitimate desire. tician who lives by 'patronage' will want to see so much attrac. tive 'patronage' taken away from Canada and wasted on the Admiralty. No business man who thinks of the 'navy vote,' not so much as a method of defence as an indirect encouragement to his industry or commercial enterprise, will relish the loss of this prospective 'bonus' to Canadian effort. And these are forces which can lay siege to Parliament, hamper the Ministers, and affect public opinion. They will try to make Canadians believe that voting assistance to the Imperial Navy is voting 'want of confidence' in our ability out here to build and manage a navy. They will appeal to our local self-esteem, and ask why it is that we can build railways and canals and equip a continent, but cannot be trusted to run a few cruisers. They will point to the South American Republics, and demand: 'Why it is that they are clever enough to have their navies when we Canadians are not?"

But, of course, the Admiralty will not be deflected from its high duty by such frothy chatter as this. It can safely leave the answering of these empty and interested arguments to the loyal and level-headed section of the Canadian people, who know that the whole case at bottom is simply this: Canada has no need whatever for a navy, while the British Empire—of which Canada is a part—has supreme need for the greatest navy in the world. We might as well argue that it is a slight upon a Canadian province not to permit it to make its own tariff, as insist that each member of the Imperial family shall create its own private navy. Still, it is just as well for the Lords of the Admiralty to be forewarned, and realise that the whine of the local 'grafter' and parish politician may reach their ears from strange quarters, and speak in the tone of a stout and high-minded 'Canadianism.'

But if the sea lords of Britain will confide in the good judgment and sound loyalty of the Canadian people, they will not confide in vain. We realise that it is the life of Canada which is at stake—a final risk not shared by even the people of the British Isles. The crushing of the British navy would wreck the Empire; but it would leave the United Kingdom intact. No foreign foe would attempt the folly of planting another 'Calais' on British soil. But with the wreck of the Empire Canada would disappear from the map. We would have to go to London when we wanted to see once more 'the meteor flag' outlined against the sky. Thus, in a sense, we have more at stake than the 'Home' people; and, eventually, we shall certainly see our battleships in the first line of our mutual Imperial defence, no matter how many politicians it is necessary to 'educate,' by the only method to which they are pervious, before we can achieve this end.

ALBERT R. CARMAN,

THIRD EDITION OF HOME RULE THE

(I)

A FIRST IMPRESSION OF THE BILL

ONCE again the nation is plunged into the thick of the Home Rule On Tuesday, the 9th of April, Mr. Bonar Law attended a great Unionist demonstration at Belfast, and two days later the Prime Minister, with characteristic and befitting gravity, laid before Parliament and the nation the outline of a new Bill 'to amend the provision for the government of There is not a little in the circumstances under which the Bill is introduced to excite strong party prejudice. believed in many quarters that the proposals made by Mr. Asquith represent not the unfettered judgment of a responsible Ministry, but the terms of a bargain upon the strict fulfilment of which the existence of the Ministry depends. With such considerations this paper is in no wise concerned. My intention is to examine the proposals of the Government in a spirit of scientific detachment; to consider them entirely upon their merits, and to ignore altogether the political circumstances under which the new Bill has been conceived and brought to the birth. After all, it matters comparatively little to the jurist whether the Bill is or is not the fruit of an unholy alliance; whether it is or is not the result of a log-rolling combination between Radical Ministerialists, Welsh Nonconformists, English Socialists, and Irish Nationalists. The nation cares less about such matters than party politicians at Westminster are apt to imagine; and even if it cared much, the questions would not be pertinent to the present inquiry. Let it be assumed that Mr. Asquith and his colleagues have been inspired by the loftiest motives of political altruism, and that their proposals are the outcome of convictions which are not only mature but absolutely independent. Are those proposals constitutionally sound and politically just?

It may be well, in the first place, to glance at the alternatives which are open to a statesman who sets out to alter the

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constitutional relations between Great Britain and Ireland. For the sake of brevity they may be set forth summarily thus:

(1) Complete separation;

- (2) Colonial self-government;
- (3) Federalism;

(4) Extended local government.

As to the first little need be said. Separation would imply, of course, not merely the repeal of the legislative union cemented a century ago, but the complete renunciation of the authority of the Crown over a portion of its dominions which have formed an integral part of the inheritance of our kings since the Angevin 'conquest' of the twelfth century. That conquest, as Sir John Davies pointed out exactly three hundred years ago, was, indeed singularly incomplete and illusory. The Plantagenets were far more concerned as to the retention of their possessions in France than the consolidation of their 'conquest' in Ireland. Nevertheless, Ireland has formed part of the dominion of the English Crown for nearly eight hundred years, and 'separation' would involve a sensible curtailment of its 'regality.' It may be said that there is no demand for separation. It is not so said by the leader of the Irish party. 'There has always been, and there is to-day, a certain section of Irishmen who would like to see separation from this country. They were once a very large section, but now they are a very small section.' So spake Mr. John Redmond in the First Reading Debate on the 11th of April. But for my immediate purpose it matters not whether the section of Irish separatists is large or small. The point is that the fundamental argument upon which from the first 'Home Rule' has rested is that it is proposed in deference to the persistent and sustained demand of the Irish 'nation.' Mr. Asquith himself puts in the forefront of his argument the 'deliberate constitutional demands of the vast majority of the nation, repeated and ratified, time after time, during the best part of the lifetime of generation.' But this argument, in the mouth of a 'limited' Home Ruler, proves too much. If justice compels attention to the demand—provided it be sufficiently strong and persistent for 'Home Rule,' how can it remain deaf to a demand, similarly urged, for separation? If Irish nationality is to be caressed when it asks modestly for a modicum of legislative independence, hor can it be coerced when it roughly and rudely demands a separation of the Crowns? More than that. The 'nationality' argument

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¹ Discoverie of the True Causes why Ireland was never Entirely Subdeed and Brought under Obedience of the Crown of England until the Beginning of and Brought under Obedience of the Crown of England until the Beginning of His Majesty's Happy Reign (1612). Sir John Davies was Attorney-General Ireland under James the First, and his little book is full of ripe wisdom instruction for those who desire to understand the historical relations of England and IrelandCC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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itself is obviously available to a 'separatist,' but not to a 'Home Ruler.' No generous mind-more especially if generosity be combined with historical information—can be insensible to the appeal on behalf of 'nationalities.' But the argument is double-To the advocates of the 'nationality' principle no part of the great European settlement of 1815 was more distasteful than the extinction of the independence of the Republic of Genoa. Nowadays there is not a 'nationalist' in Europe who is not inspired to rhapsody by the story of Italian unity. Yet where would united Italy be had Europe listened to the laments of the Genoese nationalists of 1815? The truth is that the 'nationality' of the part must often be sacrificed to the 'nationality ' of the whole. This is, indeed, the outstanding lesson taught by a survey of the 'nationality' movement of the nineteenth century. It has tended in the main, not to destruction, but to edification; to unification, not to disintegration. It is a potent weapon, therefore, in the armoury of the Unionist; it may be a convincing argument on the lips of a separatist; the one person to whom it is not available is the advocate of the half measure conveniently described as 'Home Rule.' 2 It is, however, only right, before going further, to point out that the Bill now before Parliament is, on paper, less separatist in principle than were Mr. Gladstone's proposals in 1886, or even in 1893. According to the first Home Rule Bill there was to be no Irish representation at Westminster. Nor was the reason far to seek. No English Liberal would have looked at Home Rule in 1886, except as a means of ridding the House of Commons of the Irish 'nuisance.' But even Mr. Gladstone was subsequently convinced that to propose exclusion was an inevitable step towards complete separation. Consequently in the Bill of 1893 no less than eighty Irish members were retained at Westminster, but the Irish representatives, whether in the House of Lords or in the House of Commons, were not to be entitled to 'deliberate or vote' on any question exclusively affecting Great Britain 'or some part thereof.' The inconvenience of this 'in and out' arrangement was so palpable that the proposal was subsequently dropped, and Irish members were to be left free to deliberate and vote on all questions. It may be taken as a welcome indication of the growth of the federal idea that there is no suggestion, either in Mr. Asquith's speech or in his Bill, of total exclusion; but it has yet to be proved that there is any real guarantee either here or elsewhere against an inherent and ineradicable tendency towards separation.

A second alternative is 'self-government' on the Colonial And if the principle of nationalism is irresistibly attrac-

This argument was put by Mr. A. V. Dicey in 1886 with unanswerable force. Cf. England's Case against Home Rule, e.g. pp. 18, 70.

tive to the emotional politician, the idea of Colonial self-govern. ment is not less attractive to men of a more sober and more reflective turn of mind. The argument from Colonial experience is very simple and, up to a point, very convincing. The more freedom you bestow upon your Colonies, the more you let them 'manage their own affairs,' the more loyal do they become to the British Crown, the more firm is their allegiance to the Imperial connexion. It is undeniably and most happily true that the great Dominions are increasingly devoted to the Crown and the Empire. It is also true that we have gone far towards realising the ideal of Burke, and that the ties which bind the Colonies and the Mother-land, 'though light as air, are as strong as links of iron.' It is true, again, that before the concession of 'responsible' government the two Canadas were seething with disaffection and discontent, and that since 1840 they have increased alike in prosperity and in contentment. But there is another side to Colonial experience, a side which is peculiarly and persistently ignored. Self-government is confined to the Canadian Dominion, Newfoundland, South Africa, the Australian Commonwealth and New Zealand. These represent only a part, though undeniably the most important part, of the Colonial system. There are other Colonies which have been endowed with representative institutions, but without 'responsible' Executives, and there are many more which, as Crown Colonies, are governed directly from Whitehall. The 'Dominions,' it is true, have advanced from grace to grace But what of the rest? In many of them it is notorious that representative institutions have proved a failure, and in some it has been found necessary to withdraw the concession, and to restore Crown Colony administration. But even if we ignore all contraty experience and concentrate attention upon the unquestioned success of 'self-government' in the great Dominions, what help and guidance does such experience afford to those who would remodel the government of Ireland?

Colonial self-government, as the term is now understood,

involves five principles:

(1) The legal supremacy of the King in Parliament;

(2) The virtual independence of the Colonial Legislature;

(3) A local Executive responsible thereto; (4) Complete fiscal independence; and

(5) The right of secession.

It will be obvious to any jurist that the above states ment is popular rather than scientific, and many people may be startled with the scientific and many people in the scientific and many people may be startled by the inclusion of the fifth principle. can any sane person deny that the right of secession is implicit in the existing constitution the existing constitutional connexion between the Mother land and the daughter Dominions? I am not for an instant suggesting CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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that the right is likely to be exercised: its existence is, perhaps, the best guarantee against such an untoward development. But does anyone suppose that if the Canadian Dominion were deliberately to demand independence, the demand would be forcibly resisted by the electors of the United Kingdom? It is true that the King in Parliament has a legal right to amend or to annul the existing Constitution of the Canadian Dominion or the Australian Commonwealth: is it conceivable that the right should be exercised except at the request of the Colonies concerned? That the Imperial Parliament does exercise the right to legislate for the Empire, and does in this way secure objects which are common to the Empire as a whole, but are beyond the competence of any single Colonial Legislature, is true.3 It intervenes, also, to validate doubtful Acts passed by Colonial Legislatures. Nevertheless, the legislative tie is 'light as air,' and it could be severed, if not without sorrow and inconvenience, at least without recourse to revolution.

What help, then, does the Colonial analogy afford to the sanguine 'Home Ruler'? Is Ireland to be endowed with virtual legislative independence? Can the Irish 'nationalist' be satisfied with anything less? Will the English Home Ruler concede so much? Is the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament to be merely nominal? 'We maintain in this Bill, unimpaired, beyond the reach of challenge or of question, the supremacy, absolute and sovereign, of the Imperial Parliament.' Such was Mr. Asquith's answer on the 11th of April. Is Ireland to enjoy fiscal independence? The curiously complicated financial arrangements are a sufficient answer to this interrogation. Is Ireland to have a right, either implicit or avowed, to sever the connexion at her sole will and pleasure? To state the question is to anticipate the answer.

Such inquiries, however, may be deemed too technical and too minute. They appear to ignore the broad and popular contention that 'Home Rule' has satisfied the Colonies, and may be relied upon to assuage the secular bitterness between Great Britain and Ireland. What possible danger, it is asked, can there be in adding just one more 'Home Rule Parliament to the twenty-eight Home Rule Parliaments already existing in the Empire'? Let me point out, in passing, that the term 'Home Rule' is an extraordinarily convenient cloak for confusions of thought and inexactitudes of expression. It is utilised to describe at once the virtually independent Parliament of the Dominion of Canada and the entirely subordinate Parliaments of Quebec and the other Canadian Provinces. Is the Dublin

A long series of Acts relating to merchant shipping affords a good example of this. Cf. on this subject, Keith: Responsible Government in the Dominions, pp. 3, 176-221.

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Parliament to be modelled upon that of New Zealand, or upon that of Ontario? 4 Is the Irish Executive to correspond, in its functions and its powers, to that of the Australian Common. wealth or to that of the Isle of Man? Is the Lord-Lieutenant to be a Constitutional Sovereign, or a member of the British Executive, or an autocratic Governor? To these questions I have seen no real or consistent answer. The powers enjoyed by the Dublin Parliament are to be 'delegated'; the Imperial Parliament is to possess overriding legislative authority, and its supremacy is to remain unimpaired; so far, 'Home Rule' is presented in the guise of Canadian provincialism. But, on the other hand, it is to satisfy national aspirations, to do for Ireland what the concession of 'independence' has done for Canada, Australia. New Zealand and South Africa. The simple truth is that the ' Home Ruler' has never really defined his terms, still less has he emancipated himself from the intellectual tyranny of imperfect analogies. 'Half the wrong conclusions at which mankind arrives,' said Lord Palmerston, 'are reached by the abuse of metaphors.' More than half the confusions in which political thought is involved are due, it may be added, to reliance upon analogies. No Home Ruler who lays claim to intellectual or political honesty is entitled to recommend his prescription on the strength of the argument from Colonial analogies, without clearly defining to himself and to others what precisely he understands, on the one hand by Colonial self-government, on the other by Irish Home Rule.

The Home Ruler has, however, before him a third alternative. He may proclaim himself to be a 'federalist.' If there is allurement to many minds in the Colonial analogy, there is still more · in the federal idea. Federalism has proved itself to be a prevalent principle in politics during the last half-century; it has solved many awkward problems, and has gone far to reconcile many conflicting claims. The United States of America, the Canadian Dominion, the Swiss Republic, the German Empire and the Australian Commonwealth, to say nothing of several South American republics, bear testimony to the applicability of the principle to widely differing circumstances. That the prescription has proved in many cases efficacious is undeniable. But as I have recently pointed out in this Review, f federalism invariably represented a centripetal and not a centrifugal development ment; it has meant not the break-up of a unitary constitution but the bringing closer together of political units previously independent or at a result of the dent or, at any rate, distinct; it has implied, on the part of the

I propounded these questions in much more detail in the Nineteenth Century I After for November 1011 and After for November 1911. I have not seen an answer, nor do I find one in Mr. Asquith@cspeccepudial markets of the seen an answer, nor do I find one in Mr.

Mr. Asquith@Ospens Public Docheth. Guraquikangri Collection, Haridwar November 1911.

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related communities, not the acquisition but the surrender of rights. The alternative to federalism in America in 1787 was not a single unitary State, but thirteen independent States; the Swiss Cantons in 1848 sacrificed something of sovereignty to a Federal Republic; Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, and the other German States made a similar sacrifice to the Federal Empire in 1871. I do not suggest that the application of the federal principle to the United Kingdom is impossible, but I submit that such a process can derive no sanction from the success which has attended the experiment in the countries enumerated above.

Nor can it seriously be contended that the federalisation of the United Kingdom is an indispensable preliminary to the evolution of a federal constitution for the Empire as a whole. On the contrary, it would gravely complicate a problem already sufficiently embarrassing. To devise a federal constitution for the existing units of the Empire—the United Kingdom, the Canadian Dominion, South Africa, the Australian Commonwealth and New Zealand 6—ought not to be a task beyond the ingenuity of jurists and diplomatists. To add Ireland, Scotland, and possibly Wales to the confederating units would gratuitously

enhance the difficulties of the situation. That the federal idea has not failed to influence the framers of the new Home Rule Bill is tolerably obvious. The retention of forty-two representatives of Irish constituencies in the Imperial Parliament may be accepted as a concession to this principle. In this respect the Bill seems to me an improvement both upon the cumbrous 'in and out' device of the 1893 Bill, and still more upon the separatist version of 1886. But I question whether this amendment will increase the cordiality of its reception among the electors of Great Britain. At this point, however, it seems important to notice a confusion which is not uncommon. The principle of federalism is apt to be confounded with that of 'devolution.' Of all the arguments employed by Home Rulers there is none, I imagine, which will carry so much weight with the average British elector as the suggestion that 'Home Rule' for Ireland will restore the legislative efficiency of the Imperial Parliament. Mr. Asquith pointedly commended his Bill to the House of Commons as a device for 'reconciling Ireland and emancipating itself.' The business of the Empire and of the United Kingdom must, it is contended, continue to suffer from neglect so long as the Imperial Parliament is compelled to concern itself with matters of purely local significance. Nothing can cure the deep-seated evil but a measure of devolution. The argument will tell. It harmonises completely with a

⁶ Perhaps Newfoundland should be added; but it would be much more to the purpose if Newfoundland would consent to enter the Canadian Federation.

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May sentiment which the newly enfranchised classes have embraced with passionate conviction. Modern democracy has an ineradic able belief in the efficacy of legislation, a touching reliance upon the beneficent activity of the 'State.' Anything which impedes legislation is a barrier to social amelioration. Nothing can shake this conviction. The failure of one legislative effort after another to effect its avowed purpose serves only to stimulate the appetite for more. According to the prevailing creed, there is no economic inequality and no social injustice which you cannot legislate out of existence. Needless to say that the superstition is fostered by the professional politician. Its prevalence enhances the reverence with which he is regarded. He is the custodian of the legislative mysteries. He and he alone can work the oracle. But the process is at present too deliberate; the wheels of the legislative machinery are clogged. Anything which will speed it will be eagerly welcomed by the neo-collectivists. The Parliament Act was one important step in the right direction; the Home Rule Bill is another. Devolution, therefore, is welcomed for its own sake, and not less for the promise it holds out of accelerated legislation.

'Home Rule' thus presents itself in a fourth aspect, as glorified and extended local government. In this guise it can claim a wide allegiance. Most people believe that much of the work now concentrated at Westminster could be advantageously distributed among local bodies. ready to utter a benediction on any reasonable scheme of 'devolution.' It is unnecessary, therefore, to labour the point. It is, however, pertinent to point out that there is more than one way of relieving the congestion of business in the existing House of Commons. It may be done by a process of decentralisation or devolution; it can be done not less effectively by process of integration, by the creation of an Imperial Council, genuinely representative of the Empire as a whole. Nor are the processes mutually exclusive. Even if an Imperial Council were to take over the supervision of foreign and Colonial policy, the control of emigration and immigration, Imperial defence, posts, telegraphs, means of communication, and the like, the Imperial Parliament might still find itself overburdened, and anxious to devolve upon local bodies, administrative and legislative, the control of strictly local affairs.

This point, however, must not be developed. Enough has been said to establish my primary contention that 'Home Rule' is protean in form. It may be synonymous with separation to a logical 'nationalist' it can be hardly less. It may follow

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I may perhaps be permitted to refer, in this connexion, to the scheme which I outlined in this Review in May 1911.

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the lines already familiar in the evolution of Colonial self-government. It may appear under the alluring guise of federalism, or it may amount to little more than devolution, the extension of the sphere of local government.

II

Under which of these several guises is Home Rule presented in the scheme which Mr. Asquith, on behalf of his Ministry, has lately propounded to the House of Commons?

Before an attempt is made to answer this question it may

be desirable to indicate the salient features of the scheme.

The first is, the supremacy, unimpaired and inviolate, of the Imperial Parliament. The Prime Minister described this as the 'cardinal principle' of the Bill, and it is obvious that no pains have been spared to render that supremacy as secure as a paper 'There is no question,' said Mr. constitution can make it. Asquith, 'of the distribution or allocation as between a central and a local body of supreme legislative authority . . . the Imperial Parliament can neither surrender nor share its supreme authority to or with any other body in any other part of his Majesty's dominions.' This doctrine of the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament is expressly set forth in the first clause of the Bill: 'Notwithstanding the establishment of the Irish Parliament or anything contained in this Act, the supreme power and authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters, and things within his Majesty's Dominions.'

The supremacy of the Imperial Parliament is, it would appear, to be secured in three ways: (1) By the power inherent in the sovereign Legislature to legislate for Ireland as for any other part of his Majesty's Dominions; (2) by the power expressly reserved in the Bill to nullify, amend or alter any Act of the Irish Parliament; and (3) by its control over the Imperial Executive, which has power under the Bill to veto or postpone the operation of

any Act of the Irish Parliament.

In this connexion it is important and interesting to note Mr. Asquith's emphatic repudiation of one of the cardinal principles of federalism—the distribution of power as between a central and local Legislature. The Imperial Parliament is not to stand to the Dublin Parliament in the relation of the Dominion Parliament to those of Quebec or Alberta: from the jurisdiction of the omnipotent Legislature nothing is or can be reserved. On the other hand, the power of the Irish Legislature is to be inferior to that of Victoria or New South Wales, since the latter delegate to the Commonwealth Legislature only cer-

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tain powers, within the limits of which its activities are legally confined. Clearly, then, the first principle of federalism is at the outset repudiated; there is no legal division of powers.

Subject, however, to the overriding supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, Ireland is to enjoy 'real autonomy' in regard to most Irish concerns. The Irish Parliament is to consist of the King and two Houses: a Senate and a House of Commons. The Senate is to consist of forty members holding office for eight years and nominated in the first instance by the Imperial Executive, and afterwards by the Irish Executive. The number of the Lower House is to be 164, elected by the existing Irish Constituencies on the basis of one member for every 27,000 of the population. Ulster under this plan will get 59 members, Leinster 41, Munster 37, Connaught 25, and the Universities 2.

The constitution of the Senate indicates a wide departure from the precedents of 1886 and 1893, and, not on this account only, will demand much more justification than Mr. Asquith has so far vouchsafed. The Bill of 1886 provided for a single-chamber Legislature of two Orders, sitting, deliberating and voting, as a rule, together, though in certain circumstances apart. The first Order was to consist of 103 members, of whom seventy-five were to be elected on a comparatively high franchise and twenty-five were to be representative Peers of Ireland, elected, as at present, by the general body of the Irish Peerage. The device may have been adapted, though remotely, from the Norwegian Lagthing, but it was generally regarded as unhappy and fantastic, and is never likely to reappear. The Bill of 1893 accepted more frankly the bi-cameral principle and provided for a Legislative Council of forty-eight members elected on a twenty-pound franchise, as well as for a Legislative Assembly. In the event of a deadlock between the two Houses there was to be a joint sitting, and the question was thereupon to be decided by a simple majority.

Mr. Asquith has decided in favour of a nominated Senale. But the reasons for his choice are far from convincing. rejected the plan of 1893 apparently from a dislike to the property qualification of the proposed electors, and preferred a nominated Senate out of regard for 'the special circumstances of Ireland, and with a view to safeguarding the interests of the minority. As the point is one of the most debatable in the whole Bill it may be well to transcribe Mr. Asquith's own words: 'It is most desirable to got in desirable to get in your Senate, if you can, the representatives of the minority of of the minority, of persons who will safeguard the interests of the minority—persons who might not or who will not have a fair chance of clastic fair chance of election in a question of popular election; and it is still more desirable. is still more desirable in Ireland that you should be able to draw for the purposes of for the purposes of in your and that you should be able to wait for the purposes of involved and the purposes of the purposes

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able for the ordinary, everyday life of the community.' And such a Senate, in Mr. Asquith's view, can best be secured by confiding the nomination of it to the Imperial Executive, and then as vacancies occur to the Irish Cabinet. In eight years' time at latest, the whole Senate will thus be the creature of the local Executive. And this with a view to safeguarding the interests of the minority!

Asquith were not the most serious If Mr. temporary politicians, it would be difficult to resist the conviction that in this matter he had been guilty of an elaborate but misplaced pleasantry. Any proposal more grotesquely inadequate to the achievement of its professed object, more incongruous with its avowed motive, it is almost impossible to conceive. Asquith as a constitutional lawyer must have had all the precedents There are Senates in plenty in the Over-sea Dominions of the King. Of these, five are wholly elected—those of Victoria, Western and South Australia, Tasmania and the Federal Senate of the Australian Commonwealth; one, that of United South Africa, is as to four-fifths elected and as to one-fifth nominated; seven are wholly nominated—those of New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Quebec and the Dominion of Canada. Of these, however, all are nominated for life, except that of New Zealand, which, since 1891, has been nominated for a term of seven years only. Senates of the constituent Colonies of the United South Africa have already lapsed, but the fact may be recalled that that of Cape Colony was elected, that of Natal was nominated for ten years, and the Senates of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony for five. How far does the experience gained from the working of these Second Chambers afford ground for hope that the interests of a minority may safely be confided to a nominated Senate? One point must not escape notice. The Irish Senate, as proposed by Mr. Asquith, is to consist of forty members, neither more nor less. In thus defining the precise number he follows a precedent, general but not universal. To the Canadian Senate six members but no more may, under certain defined circumstances, be added. Senate of the Australian Commonwealth consists of six members for each of the six constituent States, but the Federal Parliament is by the Constitution empowered to increase or diminish the numbers for each State, provided that the equal representation of the six original States be maintained, and that no original State shall ever have less than six Senators. In New South Wales the number of Senators has been increased from twenty-one to sixtyone, and it would seem that there is no legal or constitutional limit to the discretionary power of the Executive in the appointment of This principle has not, however, been established with-

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out more than one constitutional struggle. Sir John Young, who was Governor of New South Wales from 1861 to 1867, was severely admonished by the Home Government for permitting his Prime Minister, Sir Charles Cowper, to swamp the Senate with his nominees, and it was not until 1889 that Sir Henry Parkes was able to establish the principle and practice which now prevail.

But of Colonial precedents the one most applicable to the case of Ireland would seem to be that of the Canadian Dominion. The Canadian Senate was set up with high hopes. The number of Senators is virtually limited, and they are nominated for life by the Governor-General, of course on the advice of his responsible It was hoped and intended that the Senate should possess something of the glamour which attached to the historic House of Lords, that it should contain men of independent judge. ment, superior to the baser party considerations, that it should afford some protection against hasty and ill-considered legislation, that it should circumvent unscrupulous party stratagems, and, above all, that it should give representation to provincial interests. It must be confessed that in all respects the Canadian Senate has disappointed the hopes of the framers of the Constitution. From first to last it has been manipulated to subserve the interests of the Executive of the day. Sir John Macdonald is said during his long tenure of power to have appointed to the Senate one Liberal. Sir Wilfrid Laurier is believed to have bettered his example, and to have proved himself guiltless of even this degree of weakness towards political opponents. And this is the instrument upon which Mr. Asquith relies to safeguard the interests of the minority in Ireland. A more palpably illusory guarantee was never surely devised by a responsible statesman.

The proposed constitution of the Lower House presents no feature of special interest, and we may pass at once to a consideration of the powers with which the Legislature is to be These are defined not by enumeration, but by restric-The distinction is important, for the Irish Parliament must be presumed to possess all such powers as are not specific ally reserved. As in the Bill of 1893, the Irish Parliament is forbidden to deal with matters touching the Crown, a Regency, or the Lord-Lieutenant, with peace or war, the Army and Navy, treaties and foreign relations, treason, dignities and honours, and the amendment of the Constituent Act. Nor is it to deal with the Land Purchase Acts, the due fulfilment of which is to remain as an obligation of the Imperial Parliament. Over the Irish Constabulary, on the other hand, it is to have entire control after the large of after the lapse of six years. Old-age pensions and the obligations incurred under the T incurred under the Insurance Act of 1911 are to remain as charges upon the Imperial Exchequer, unless the Irish Parliament should

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elect to take them over, after having given twelve months' notice of their intention to do so. Similarly, the Post Office Savings Bank may be taken over on six months' notice, but not during the next ten years. Various other restrictions as to education, corporations, and interference with the rights of property, included in the Bill of 1893, are dropped in that of 1912, but the religious safeguards are repeated and extended. Clause 3 of the new Bill runs:

In the exercise of their power to make laws under this Act the Irish Parliament shall not make a law so as either directly or indirectly to establish or endow any religion [so far it repeats the provision of 1893], or prohibit the free exercise thereof, or to give a preference, privilege or advantage, or impose any disability or disadvantage, on account of religious belief or religious or ecclesiastical status, or to make any religious belief or religious ceremony a condition of the validity of any marriage.

The reference to recent papal decrees is, of course, too obvious to require comment.

Such are the restrictions upon the legislative competence of the statutory Parliament which it is proposed to set up in Ireland.

The financial arrangements are extraordinarily intricate. The Imperial Parliament will continue to tax the whole of the United Kingdom, but the Irish Parliament will have the power within its territorial limitations to reduce or discontinue any Imperial tax. It will also possess extensive fiscal powers of its own. It will have entire control of the Post Office and the Excise, and partial control over Customs. All taxes, however, whether imposed by the Imperial or by the Irish Parliament, are to be collected by Imperial authorities and paid into the Imperial Exchequer. 8 As regards Customs, the Irish Parliament may not impose a duty on any articles not dutiable under the schedule of the United Kingdom, but it may increase the amount of any duty by a sum not in excess of 10 per cent. on the yield. Within the same limit it may increase income-tax and estate duties, but will have no power to alter stamp duties, which are to remain uniform throughout the United Kingdom. Of any increase Ireland will get the advantage through the operation of what is to be known as 'The Transferred Sum'; and, conversely, any diminution or discontinuance will be effected at its own expense. For the whole of the Imperial taxes collected in Ireland will be returned to Ireland in 'The Transferred Sum,' with a substantial addition.

In 1886 Mr. Gladstone reckoned that Ireland was contributing 3,500,000l. a year to the Imperial revenue, and he fixed her future contribution on that basis. Before the 1893 Bill appeared, Ireland's contribution had sensibly diminished, and in the second

the difficulty of Ulster, or rather to create a dilemma from which Ulster cannot escape.

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edition of Home Rule it was deemed equitable that the sum to be henceforth contributed should be 2,250,000l. Twenty years later the tables are turned. Ireland, despite a marked increase in internal prosperity, has ceased to be an Imperial asset, and has become an Imperial liability. Consequently, Mr. Asquith has decreed that henceforward Ireland shall contribute nothing at all. On the contrary, she is to receive from Imperial sources a subsidy of 2,000,000l. a year at least. It is estimated that under existing arrangements Ireland receives from the Imperial Exchequer 1,500,000l. a year more than she pays into it. To this 'deficit' Mr. Asquith proposes to add an extra half-million, to give the New Ireland a fair financial start.

With nothing to rely upon but the published report of the Prime Minister's introductory statement, it is hazardous to enter upon any detailed examination of the financial proposals. This much, however, may be said. It is obvious that the proposed financial arrangements will be and must be subjected to the closest scrutiny. They are, on the face of them, wholly incongruous with the underlying and permeating principle of the As regards legislation and administration Ireland is to be placed virtually in the position of a 'responsible' colony. It is true that there are certain restrictions upon the competence of the Legislature and the Executive which would be resented by a 'self-governing' dominion; but, speaking broadly, that is the position in which, should this Bill become law, Ireland will be placed. In two respects, however, she is to enjoy privileges which are denied to the greatest and most loyal of the Over-sea Dominions. One is as regards representation in the Imperial Parliament; the other is in regard to finance.

That the obligations created under the Land Purchase Acts should remain unaffected by the Bill is a point of obvious political expediency, not to say of political honour. It may be a violation of political logic; but it is better to violate logic than to imperil the validity of contracts or to play havoc with national credit. But why, if Ireland is to be entrusted with the responsibilities of self-government, she should be relieved of the charges incidental to the payment of her own old-age pensions and the working of a scheme of national insurance, it is not easy to understand. The sentimentalist may exhort us to err on the side of generosity, to make abundant reparation for past wrongs, and so forth. But it is not unimportant to remember that such reparation can be made, and such generosity exercised, only at the expense of the existing taxpayers of Great Britain; that the strain

Neither Mr. Samuel's speech, despite its admiral lucidity, nor the Bill itself, as now published, add anything material.

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imposed upon them is already severe, and may become intolerable; and that if a constitutional and financial readjustment is to be effected, the give must not be all on the one side and the take on the other. Responsibilities are inseparable from rights. If self-government is to be conceded as a 'right,' the 'right' can be enjoyed only at the cost of financial responsibility. But such truisms need not be laboured: the essential objection to the financial arrangements, considered from the point of view of the constitutional jurist, is that they are contradictory to the political principle on which the whole scheme is founded. Constitutional independence and financial dependence cannot permanently co-So long as Ireland remains in all respects an integral portion of the United Kingdom it may equitably claim to enjoy the financial advantage incidental to such a political connexion; if it prefers to sever, wholly or partially, that connexion, it must be prepared to shoulder its own financial burden.

That the severance is far from complete I am ready and anxious to admit; that the Asquith Constitution is not conceived consistently on the lines of Colonial self-government is one of the points on which I desire to insist; and I shall have something further to say as to the continued representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament. But a word must first be interposed as to the position and powers of the Executive which the Bill proposes

to set up.

Colonial self-government, as I have already pointed out, implies not merely virtual legislative independence, but also the existence of an Executive responsible to the local Legislature. This was a truth which only gradually dawned upon the intelligence of the home Government. The lack of a responsible Executive was one of the more obvious rocks upon which the 'Grattan Constitution ' foundered in the last years of the eighteenth century. Under the constitutional arrangement of 1782 Ireland enjoyed complete legislative autonomy, but that autonomy was vitiated, if not cancelled, by the presence of corruption and by the absence of a responsible Executive. A similar defect brought to grief the system devised by Pitt in 1791 for the government of the two Canadas. Many causes—ecclesiastical, fiscal, racial—contributed to the discontent which blazed out into rebellion in 1837, but at the root of them was the constitutional problem: the difficulty of working representative institutions without an Executive responsible thereto. Lord Durham correctly diagnosed the disease, and in his famous Report prescribed the appropriate remedy. 'The Governor,' he wrote, 'should be instructed that he must carry on his government by heads of departments in whom the united Legislature shall repose confidence; and that he must look

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for no support from home in any contest with the Legislature except on points involving strictly Imperial interests.' In a word, the Cabinet system was to be introduced into the Canadian Constitution. This was done, and the principle of Colonial 'self. government' was once for all established.

Mr. Asquith proposes, in similar fashion, to set up an Executive in Ireland responsible to the local Legislature. But the Executive is to be subject to precisely the same limitations as those imposed upon the Dublin Parliament. The Legislature and the Executive are to be coterminous in authority. On this point the Prime Minister is precise:

I wish to make it perfectly clear that as far as the Executive in Ireland is concerned the area of its authority will be coextensive with the legislative power of the Parliament, neither greater nor less. Whatever matters are, for the time being, within the legislative competence of the Irish Parliament will be for administrative purposes within the ambit of the Irish Executive; what is outside will remain under the control and subject to the administration of the Imperial Executive.

The language is obviously chosen with meticulous accuracy, and the point indicated deserves the closest scrutiny.

Lord Durham, Lord Grey and Lord John Russell, the fathersof Colonial self-government, were frankly contemplating the imminence of Colonial independence. 'To ripen these communities [the Colonies] to the earliest possible maturity, social, political, commercial, to qualify them by all the appliances within the reach of the parent State for present self-government and eventual independence, is now the universally admitted aim of our Colonial policy.' (The italics are mine.) Thus wrote Mr. Arthur Mills in his Colonial Constitutions in 1856. No one who is acquainted with the facts will question the accuracy of his generalisation. 'Eventual independence' was regarded as the inevitable goal of the constitutional evolution of the greater Colonies. I shall be reminded that not one of them has reached it, or desired to reach it; and I shall be told that the timely concession of selfgovernment, instead of precipitating separation, has averted all desire for it. Be it admitted. What is the inevitable inference? That the same concession to Ireland will produce the same results. The concession, however, is not the same, nor are the circumstances identical. Geography would vitiate the analogy, even if Mr. Asquith attempted to sustain it; but he does not The nearest of the self-governing Colonies is roughly 3000 miles away: at the time when 'self-government' was conceded com-The home Governmunication was cumbrous and infrequent. ment, in the 'forties, threw the reins on the back of the Colonial team and had all the colonial team and th They found it. team and bade them find their own way home. Would they have found it if the concession had been less complete:

if the driver had remained upon the box and attempted by word or whip to guide when he could no longer control? Ireland is not a British Colony, and Asquithian 'Home Rule' is not 'self-govern-The stress laid upon the effective supremacy of the Imperial Parliament; its continued competence to legislate for Ireland; its power to 'nullify, amend or alter' Irish statutes: the numerous restrictions upon the competence of the Irish Parliament; the twofold veto-are these 'safeguards' real or are they sham? Are they intended to be effective, or are they mere windowdressing, put in for the delectation and delusion of the British electorate? Let me hasten to say that I believe them to represent a genuine intention on the part of the author of the Bill. But the nation is concerned not with probable intentions, but with inevitable results. If the safeguards and limitations are genuine and effective, they completely vitiate the scheme as a measure of 'selfgovernment.' Would any 'responsible 'Colony allow the Imperial Government to collect the taxes it imposed and pay them into the Imperial exchequer? Would a Colonial Parliament suffer for one instant such restrictions upon its competence as those which are enumerated in Mr. Asquith's Bill? If, on the other hand, the safeguards are illusory, will the British electorate even contemplate an experiment so rash and so dishonest?

There are many other points—notably the machinery for deciding whether any given statute of the Irish Legislature is or is not within its competence—the significance of which stands out even on a first impression; there is only one with which I have space to deal. The retention of the Irish members at Westminster is justified by Mr. Asquith on the ground that the House of Commons will continue to be 'the House of Commons of the United Kingdom.' My hope is that it may, and for that reason I welcome his illogical proposal. I admire also his ingenuity. Here is a crumb of comfort for the Federalist. There is no genuine Federalism in the structure of the Bill, but here at least is a semblance of the idea, and we may welcome signs of grace, even if they are exhibited at the expense of constitutional congruity.

It will, I hope, be apparent that in the foregoing pages no attempt has been made to discuss at large the political merits or defects of Home Rule in general. Had such been my intention it would have been inexcusable to omit all reference to one of the most important factors in the political problem—the attitude of the Ulster Protestants. In a scientific analysis of a proposed constitutional reconstruction the wishes of Ulster may be ignored. But the moment we pass from the academic discussion of constitutional details to the broad political issues the spectacle of Ulster, organised, determined and grim, must necessarily stand forth as a

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dominating feature of the situation. No Minister, no Parliament, no electorate, will be able to ignore the resolute refusal of the Ulster Protestants to be forcibly sundered from the United King. dom, and be handed over to another 'nation' with which they have neither racial nor religious nor economic affinity. We are bidden to make a fundamental change in the constitutional relations of the United Kingdom in deference to the 'persistent demand' of a minority which is numerically contemptible. But we are solemnly warned that to the minority of the minority no excessive consideration must be shown. 'We will not admit,' said the Prime Minister, 'the right of the minority of the people, and relatively a small minority, . . . to veto the verdict of the vast body of their countrymen.' Their countrymen are Englishmen and Scotchmen no less, even more, than Irishmen, and it has yet to be proved that the 'vast body of their countrymen' are wedded to the policy which Ulster emphatically repudiates. If minorities as such are to be condemned, is there any sufficient ground for attention to the demands of that minority of the electors of the United Kingdom who have persistently placed 'Home Rule' in the forefront of their political programme?

Never yet has the majority pronounced unequivocally in favour of this fundamental change of Constitution. Once, and once only, in 1886, has a specific proposal been submitted, fairly and squarely, to the deliberate judgment of the electors of the United Kingdom;

and the response was unhesitating and decisive.

One point remains. It is clear that in the great constitutional struggle which is ahead of the people of this country the 'deliberate judgment of the civilised world ' is to be again invoked, as it was invoked before. It cannot, therefore, be deemed impertinent to invite the attention of 'the civilised world' to a con-In no other great sideration which may possibly escape them. country except our own would it be legally or constitutionally possible to effect a change of this magnitude by the ordinary process of legislation. No great nation in the world is so completely defenceless as Great Britain against a constitutional revolution effected under the forms of law. I would respectfully ask those eminent American citizens who have been quick to express ap proval of the Bill now under consideration by the British House of Commons, how they would regard a proposal to amend fundamentally the Feel and a standard of the standard of mentally the Federal Constitution of the United States without putting in motion the elaborate and complicated machinery provided in the Complicated machinery provided mac vided in the Constitution for that purpose? I would address similar inquiry to similar inquiry to our fellow citizens in the Australian Commonwealth; and I wealth; and I would repeat it, if necessary, to every competent jurist in Europe There are many advantages in a Constitution jurist in Europe.

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mostly unwritten and entirely flexible; but there are times when the corresponding disadvantages become painfully apparent. long as there is a general acquiescence in the 'fundamentals' of the Constitution, the 'circumstantials' may be left to take care of themselves. No great and permanent injury is likely to be inflicted upon the body politic. It is otherwise when 'fundamentals' become the subject of acute political controversy. Cromwell recognised this truth when confronted by Parliaments which questioned the 'fundamentals' enshrined in the written Constitution of the Protectorate. And Cromwell found the solution of his difficulties in reluctant reliance upon the power of the sword. It was as general of the army rather than as Protector of the Commonwealth that he really controlled the destinies of England, Scotland and Ireland. Between the close of the seventeenth century and the dawn of the twentieth there was little disposition in this country to question 'fundamentals.' But the period of acquiescence appears to have passed. Questions are propounded to-day which go down to the very roots of our social and economic system, which shake the foundations upon which the whole political superstructure is built. Are we adequately equipped, in a constitutional sense, for answering these questions, and for effecting the fundamental changes which the answers may involve? It is not easy for a student of political institutions to answer these questions with a confident affirmative. This much at least cannot be gainsaid. There exists in this country no A Bill for prospecial machinery for constitutional revision. hibiting vivisection or for regulating the work-hours of shop-assistants necessitates the employment of precisely the same legislative machinery as a Bill for the abolition of the House of Lords or the House of Commons, or a Bill for the adjustment of the Constitutional relations of Great Britain and Ireland. Neither more nor less. The British Constitution entirely ignores comparative values in legislation. Its deficiences in this regard were brought into startling relief in the Session of 1911. The experience is to be repeated in 1912. This being so, it is more imperative that proposals so far-reaching as those contained in the third edition of Home Rule should be subjected to severe scrutiny. A closer acquaintance may possibly induce a more favourable judgment; but a first impression suggests that the Bill has been framed with extraordinary ingenuity and adroitness, and that the sails have been set to catch every breath of the wind of popularity. In the distribution of favours nobody has been left out. There is something for the thorough-going separatist, inspired by nationalist fervour; there is something for the timid devolutionist, anxious only to secure 'gas and water' Home Rule; something for the advocate

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of Colonial self-government, and something for the well-meaning but muddle-headed federalist. But is not the dexterity of the Bill likely to prove its destruction? Is it not, in fact, an ingenious mosaic, cunningly compacted and curiously inlaid, a 'tesselated pavement without cement—here a bit of black stone and there a bit of white,' 10 but grotesquely lacking in consistency of principle, in unity of design, and coherence of construction?

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

10 The image is Burke's.

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THE THIRD EDITION OF HOME RULE

(II)

IRELAND'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

ONE of the most significant features of the Home Rule controversy is the energy with which the advocates of Home Rule are attempting to discredit the rapidly accumulating evidence that the Irish people are now progressing at a more rapid rate economically than the people of Great Britain. It is perhaps not unnatural that Home Rulers should take up such attitude. In 1893 they or their predecessors attempted to force upon the people of the United Kingdom a scheme for the government of Ireland which would have brought Ireland to the verge of bankruptcy within ten years of its coming into operation. The Unionists secured the rejection of that measure, and as an alternative they substituted the policy of fostering the economic development of Ireland-first by land purchase, and later by generous agricultural and development grants. The constructive policy of the Unionist party has been completely justified by the result. Ireland is now more prosperous than she has ever been in her history, and the Irish people owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Unionists for having saved them from their political friends in 1893.

It may be doubted whether the average Englishman or Scotsman has the slightest conception of the extent to which Ireland has advanced in an economic sense within the past decade; and even a close student of Irish affairs, such as Mr. Erskine Childers may fairly claim to be, appears to be curiously ignorant of the change that is taking place in the relative position of the two countries. Mr. Childers, who challenges my statement that the economic condition of the people of Ireland is improving at a more rapid rate than that of the people of Great Britain, has made a strange blunder in his criticism of my figures in overlooking the fact that there has been a wide divergence in the movement of population of Great Britain as compared with that of Ireland. Within the past decade the population of Great Britain increased to the extent of 10.3 per cent., while that of Ireland declined to the extent

¹ Nineteenth Century and After, April 1912, p. 651.

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of 1.7 per cent., and in order to make a true comparison it is necessary to take the actual figures per head of population.

Taking first the gross assessments to Income tax. On p. 34 of the fifty-eighth number of the Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom Mr. Childers will find that between 1900 and 1910 the gross amount of Income brought under the Inland Revenue Department in respect of review of the 682,020,000l. to England and Wales increased from 877,888,000l., a growth of 195,868,000l., or 28.7 per cent.: but on a per capita basis the increase was only 14.7 per cent. Within the same period the Gross Assessment of Scotland advanced from 76,213,000l. to 93,020,000l., an increase of 16,807,000l., or 22 per cent.; but on a per capita basis Scotland's increase was only 12 per cent. The Gross Assessment of Ireland in 1900 was 33,501,000l., and in 1910 it was 40,192,000l., an increase of 6,691,000l., or 20 per cent., which was equivalent on a per capita basis to 21 per cent. The gross assessments to Income tax therefore prove precisely what I stated-namely, that the welfare of the Irish people is improving more rapidly than that of the people of Great Britain.

With regard to the Irish trade returns, there is a gap between the official returns from 1826 to 1904; but it may be pointed out that in 1895 the late Sir Robert Giffen estimated the value of the exports at about 20,000,000l., and that of the imports at about 25,000,000l., making a total of only 45,000,000l., or not much more than one-third of their present value, and if returns were available showing the growth of Irish trade since land purchase first began to exert its beneficial influence, it is not unreasonable to assume that they would show such an improvement in the volume of Ireland's external trade as I have suggested. But taking the short period of 1904-10, even Mr. Childers is constrained to admit that there was an actual increase of 26 per cent. in the value of the external trade of Ireland, as compared with an increase of 31.4 (not 30 per cent., as stated by Mr. Childers) in the external trade of the United Kingdom; and making the comparison on a true basis, namely, per head of population, it will be found that the increase in the value of Irish trade during the period of 1904-10 was 27.2 per cent., as compared with an increase of only 22.8 per cent. for the United Kingdom during that period.

But the statement that the economic condition of the Irish people is improving at a more rapid rate than that of the British people rests upon a broader foundation than Mr. Childers appears to have some to have any conception of. In the Banking supplement to The Economist of the 21st of October, 1911, Mr. Childers find that between 1907 find that between 1901 and 1911 the deposits in the Joint Stock CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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Banks of England and Wales increased from 634,346,000l. to 796,800,000l., a growth of 162,454,000l., or 25.5 per cent.; the deposits of the Scotch Joint Stock Banks decreased from 107,347,000l. to 106,633,000l., a diminution of 714,000l., or .7 per cent.; while the deposits of the Irish Joint Stock Banks increased from 48,428,000l. to 65,418,000l., an expansion of 16,990,000l., or 35 per cent. On a per capita basis there was an increase in the case of the English and Welsh Banks of 13.4 per cent.; in the case of the Scotch Banks a decrease of 7 per cent.; and in the case of the Irish Banks an increase of 37 per cent.

Under the circumstances it is perhaps natural that Mr. Childers should regard the figures of increased trade and banking deposits as not altogether reliable indices of increased prosperity, so I would venture to direct his attention to the railway statistics. On pp. 319-321 of the Statistical Abstract already referred to, Mr. Childers will find that in 1896 the gross receipts of the railways of Great Britain amounted to 86,640,000l., and in 1910 they amounted to 119,451,000l., an increase of 32,811,000l., or 37.8 per cent. During the same period the gross receipts of the Irish railways advanced from 3,478,000l. to 4,474,000l., an increase of 996,000l., or 28.6 per cent. But on a per capita basis the increase in the case of the railways of Great Britain was only 18.5 per cent., as compared with an increase of 34 per cent.

on the Irish railways.

If Mr. Childers would prefer to apply another test he might possibly like to take the net capital value of property on which Estate duty was paid. Owing to the occasional inclusion of large estates it would perhaps give a misleading result to make a comparison on the basis of a single year. In order to overcome this difficulty the writer has taken the four years 1896-7 to 1899-1900, and compared them with the four years 1907-8 to 1910-11 (the figures are given on p. 41 of the Statistical Abstract already referred to). During the first-named period the average value in the case of England and Wales was 217,520,000l., and in the last-named period the average was 237,505,000l., showing an increase of 19,985,000l., or 9.1 per In the case of Scotland the average in the first-named the last-named period period 23,568,000l., and in was 29,206,000*l*., an increase of 5,638,000*l*., or 24 per cent. the case of Ireland the average amount for the first period was 12,190,000l., and for the last period 13,248,000l., showing an increase of 1,058,000l., or 8.6 per cent. But, again, making the comparison of a per capita basis, it will be found that in the case of England and Wales there was a decrease of 3 per cent., in the case of Scotland an increase of 15 per cent., and in the case of Ireland an increase of 11 per cent.

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The statistics as to the number of paupers in receipt of relief, and the statistics as to insolvency, afford further con. firmation of the view that Ireland is progressing more rapidly than Great Britain, but it is not necessary to go into details on these two points. The question of population is the final point to which attention may be directed. As already stated, within the past decade the population of Great Britain increased to the extent of 10.3 per cent., while that of Ireland declined to the extent of 1.7 per cent. It may be pointed out, however, that the intercensal decrease in Ireland was by far the lowest ratio of decrease reported since 1851. The increase of popula. tion in Scotland was only 6.4 per cent., the lowest rate of increase reported for any intercensal period with the exception of 1851-61; and the intercensal increase of population in England was 10.5 per cent., which was by far the lowest ratio of increase recorded since 1821. It may be doubted whether it is generally known that the volume of emigration from Scotland is now nearly twice as large as that from Ireland. In 1911 about 61,000 persons emigrated from Scotland, whereas only 30,573 emigrated from Ireland, the ratios being 12.8 per 1000 for Scotland and 7 per 1000 for Ireland.

The evidence that the economic condition of the Irish people under the Union is now improving at a more rapid rate than that of the people of Great Britain is incontrovertible, and there is every reason to believe that the advocates of Home Rule, who are now so eager to deny this improvement, would be the first, if Home Rule were granted, to search Ireland from end to end for evidence of the wonderful economic advance, which they would then have no difficulty in discovering and no hesitation in ascribing to the adoption of their policy. There is, of course, still a great disparity, as I have taken care to point out, between the national wealth and income of people of Great Britain and that of the Irish people; but if the economic ties which at present bind Ireland to Great Britain remain unbroken and the constructive policy of the past fifteen years be continued, there is every reason to believe that the Irish people will make up the greater part of this leeway within a period and in a manner which will astonish the economic world.

EDGAR CRAMMOND.

THE RULE OF FUNK

In the Times of the 16th of March I read the following announcement:

Mr. Sherwell has given notice of an amendment to Mr. Ormsby Gore's resolution on Syndicalism in these terms: 'That this House, while expressing its strong disapproval of all forms of incitement to acts of violence in connexion with social or political propaganda, is of opinion that the interests of the State and of social order could best be secured by immediate consideration of the causes of the unrest now and lately prevailing among the industrial classes.'

Nothing apparently came of Mr. Ormsby Gore's resolution, beyond a phantasmal debate. With the thought underlying Mr. Sherwell's amendment I am in full sympathy. The great -the greatest-problem now before the world is the reorganisation of industry upon an ethical basis. But I confess to much astonishment that Mr. Sherwell, with his experience of the House of Commons, should have invited that assembly to discuss it. Consider what the House of Commons really is. No doubt it contains intellects of the first order, perfectly able to grasp and solve the highest questions of statecraft. But those are not the subjects which engage their attention. 'Party,' Mr. Balfour once told his fellow-legislators, 'is the very breath of our nostrils,' and party issues so absorb their energies that other topics receive unwilling and scant consideration. Even those among them who have the pre-eminence supply conclusive evidence that this is so. Thus Mr. Lloyd George, the holder of a very important office, and accounted, by some, a man of light and leading, informed the House the other day that 'Socialism is the policeman of Syndicalism.' The writer of an able article in the Times 1 observed, justly, that 'the remark, and the spirit of cheerful confidence it embodied, reveal a state of deep ignorance covered by a thin coating of treacherous knowledge, extremely dangerous at these times in a particularly active Minister.'

And if party leaders can so gravely misapprehend important public topics, what capacity for rationally dealing with them can be expected from the rank and file of the led? What, in

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¹ An article entitled 'Syndicalism.' It appeared on the 25th of March. 3 H Vol. LXXI—No. 423 CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

fact, is the average member of Parliament but claptrap-made flesh and dwelling among us as a legislator? Ignorant of history, of finance, of political philosophy, his intellectual equipment is a set of commonplaces, platitudes, shibboleths, which he has never tried to think out, and very likely could not if he tried, 'How fluent nonsense trickles from his tongue!' But it must be that sort of nonsense which bears the party imprimatur, or his place will soon know him no more. Sir Henry Maine has remarked that 'debates in the House of Commons may be constantly read which consisted wholly in the exchange of weak generalities and strong personalities.' 2 To this we may add that they are the hollowest pretence in the world, for it is perfectly well known that honourable members must not give expression to any conclusion at which they may arrive in opposition to the party ukase. 'I have heard many speeches in Parliament,' a veteran legislator observed, 'which changed my opinion, but never one which changed my vote.' 'Non cogito ergo sum' is the true account of the ordinary Parliamentary representative. If he once begins to think for himself, he is a doomed man. So was it with Mr. Belloc. So with Mr. Harold Cox, whom the University of Cambridge-or I suppose I should say the clerical electors of that seat of learning-rejected in favour of a gentleman doubtless full of mathematics but, politically considered, 'a simple vote.'3

And can it be otherwise when our system of party Government prevails? I do not see how. Let us look at the situation with eyes purged of cant. What is the real employment of the six hundred and odd gentlemen who assemble 'within those walls'? They are engaged in playing the party game-perhaps the most demoralising of all forms of gambling. The prize for which they are contending is office. It is a question of Ins or Outs. Carlyle puts it very well:

A mighty question indeed! Who shall be Premier, and take in hand the 'rudder of government,' otherwise called the 'spigot of taxation'; shall it be the Honourable Felix Parvulus, or the Right Honourable Felicissimus Zero? By our electioneerings and Hansard debatings, and everenduring tempest of jargon that goes on everywhere, we manage to settle that; to have it declared, with no bloodshed, except insignificant blood from the nose in hustings-time, but with immense beershed and inkshed and explosion of nonsense, which darkens all the air, that the Right Honourable Zero is to be the man. That we firmly settle. Zero, all shivering with rapture and with terror, mounts into the high saddle; cramps himself on, with knees, heels, hands, and feet; and the horse gallops—whither it lists

Popular Government, p. 108.

am indebted to Pope for the phrase:

'That from a patriot of distinguished note
Have bled and purged me to a simple vote.'

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That the Right Honourable Zero should attempt controlling the horsealas, alas, he, sticking with beak and claws, is too happy if the horse will only gallop any whither, and not throw him. Measure, polity, plan or scheme of public good or evil, is not in the head of Felicissimus; except, if he could but devise it, some measure that would please his horse for the moment, and encourage him to go with softer paces, godward or devilward as it might be, and save Felicissimus's leather, which is fast wearing. This is what we call a Government in England.

Further: What is the means by which office is attained or Bribery. Not of free and independent electors by small money doles; no-our virtuous legislators would blush at that, or, at all events, 'would blush to find it fame'; but bribery on a much larger scale, and by far more nefarious and detestable expedients. Consider the present Government, for I select it as an example because it is before our example. eyes, not because it is essentially different from former Governments, or worse-at all events, much worse-than some of them. The numerical strength of the Liberal party proper—if I may so speak—is inadequate to keep the Government in office. More votes are wanted, and they have to be paid for. There are two considerable groups in the House of Commons whose suffrages are on sale-one, the Home Rule party, whose price is the dismemberment of the Empire; 4 the other, the Labour party, whose price is the disintegration of society. And does the Government hesitate, in either case, to pay the price demanded? By no means. It is willing to pay that price, and more also, in order to remain for a time 'dressed in a little brief authority.' The late coal strike was bitterly resented by the Government as an unmannerly interruption of the party game. And Mr. Asquith's avowed object has been not to diagnose and to heal the disease in the body politic of which it is so grave a symptom; no, but merely to get it out of the way as quickly as possible.

I found this statement upon Mr. Redmond's public declarations. Here are a few of them. At Kanturk, on the 17th of November 1895, he asserted: 'The consummation of all our hopes and aspirations is, in one word, to drive English rule, sooner or later, bag and baggage, from our country.' He said at Cork, on the 24th of October 1901, that the aim of the Irish League was 'the national indexed to the Irish American Convention. 'the national independence of Ireland.' At an Irish-American Convention, held in New York on the 21st of September 1907, he spoke on behalf of the following resolution: 'That, in supporting Home Rule for Ireland, we abandon no principle of Irish nationhood as laid down by the fathers in the Irish movement for independence, from Wolfe Tone and Emmet to Charles J. Kickham and Charles Stewart Parnell,' and in the course of his speech he said: 'I do not think I ever heard a more magnificent declaration of Irish national principles. The declaration puts, in the clearest way, the meaning and essence of this movement—it is no new movement: it is the movement for which Emmet died. I am far from making it a matter of reproach to Mr. Redmond that he holds these views. I think I should hold them too if I were a Celtic Irishman. The Home Rule movement is the natural consequence, the merited punishment of England for centuries of cruel and cowardly oppression in Ireland. We have sown the wind; we are reaping the whirlwind.

And now I will venture, as a student, all my life, of history and political science, to make my modest contribution to the discussion invited by Mr. Sherwell, although, within the narrow limits of a Review article, I am necessarily restricted to outlines. The only knowledge which is worth having on this great question is causal knowledge. Indeed, to understand any political situation aright, we must understand how things have become what they are. The last century witnessed a great change in this nation. The ten or twelve millions of the population of the country in 1812 have become forty millions. They have ceased to be a pastoral and agricultural people, leading quiet and healthful rural lives- fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestes'-to become dwellers in fog-grimed slums, and profitmaking machines—' hands' is the significant term commonly employed—in manufactories, on railways, in docks, in mines. The change has not been to their advantage physically. it been so morally or intellectually? The schoolmaster has been abroad. But what is the real worth of the so-called 'education' imparted by him? The Duke of Wellington is reported to have said that the Church Catechism had moulded the character of the English people—the Church Catechism with its teaching as to the great end of life, the right rule of life, the duty of truth and justice in all one's dealings, of respect for and obedience to the powers that be, as ordained of God. That teaching is now at a discount. I remember Mr. Ruskin observing that what has superseded it is a mere training in impudence. I think he might have added, and in discontent. It appears to me, indeed, that discontent is the special note of the working classes at the present day. And I do not wonder at it. The condition of vast numbers of them—for example, those employed in the sweated trades—is horrible, and a national disgrace. Moreover, the old orthodox political economy, by installing competition, working by supply and demand, as the all-sufficient principle in industrial relations, by proclaiming the supremacy of bodily appetites over moral motives, has arrayed capital and labour in two hostile camps. As I wrote in this Review last October, 'The old charities and courtesies which once bound together the various members of the body politic have disappeared, and have been replaced by a state of universal war—bellum omnium contra omnes.' And the conception of the social organism, of the country's solidarity, has disappeared too. A century ago we were 'a nation still, the rulers and the ruled.' Then the notion of such a movement as the recent coal strike would have been unthinkable. Now the workers in each of the various branches of industry are bound together in a vast organisation, insisting

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at all costs on their rights and interests, real or supposed, and utterly indifferent to the rights and interests of the community at large, or, for the matter of that, of the workers in other industries. Do not let us suppose that this present coal strike—for it is still present with us—is an isolated phenomenon. No: it is the forerunner of fresh and worse industrial convulsions: for it is the outcome of an idea which has by no means had its full development. Let us see what that idea is.

To do that we must go back for rather more than a century. The idea of which we are in search was introduced into the world by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. He is the author of the doctrine of pseudo-democracy, of the autonomy of the individual. He postulates unrestricted liberty and boundless sovereignty for the abstract man who is the unit of his speculations, and whom he declares to be naturally good and reasonable. The doctrine of the absolute equivalence of men is of the essence of his teaching: and so is the dogma of the sufficiency of the individual in the order of thought and the order of action. He was gladly heard by all classes in France as a new evangelist, and the French Revolution was an attempt to realise his gospel at any cost of blood or crime. The conception of civil society adopted by the revolutionary legislators and underlying 'The Declaration of the Rights of the Man and the Citizen' is a multitude of sovereign human units who-that is to say, the majority of whom-exercise their power through their manda-And in the will, or whim, of this numerical majority we are bidden to find the unique source of all rights. essence of the revolutionary dogma is that only on equality, absolute and universal, can the public order be properly founded. Arrange that everybody shall count for one, and nobody for more than one, and by this distribution of political power, whatever be the moral, intellectual, or social condition of its depositories, you realise the perfect, the only legitimate form of the State.

Upon the causes which led to the enthusiastic reception of this doctrine in France it is impossible for me to dwell here. They are admirably expounded, as all the world knows, in the initial chapters of Taine's great work. It has been well said that an idea must become French before it can become European. And one effect of the French Revolution and its wars was to spread the doctrine of Rousseauan individualism throughout Europe. Napoleon's campaigns, bringing down in a common ruin the old-world polities, shook this idea into the air. He claimed that he embodied the Revolution: and so, in a sense, he did. The essence of Bonapartism is plebiscitary despotism, which rests upon the conception of the people as an aggregate

of isolated and unrelated atoms. Socialism, for the origin of which, let us remember, we go back to Rousseau, is another issue of the same conception. It rests upon that doctrine of the unlimited power of the majority of sovereign human units so widely received and believed in France, and that country, in the judgment of a very clear-headed publicist, the late M. Scherer, is bound to make trial of Socialism. Nor, if we survey its history during the last two decades, would it probably be much worse off under a Socialistic régime. A French writer, whom I must reckon the profoundest student of men and society that France has seen of late years, observes:

Since June 1889 the country has beheld ignoble possessors of ephemeral authority proscribe, in the name of Liberty, her dearest convictions: abominable politicians play upon universal suffrage as an instrument wherewith to seize power and to instal their lying mediocrity in the highest place. And the country has endured this universal suffrage, the most monstrous and the most iniquitous of tyrannies, for the force of numbers is the most brutal of forces.7

And the ethos of the revolutionary movement throughout Europe is just what it is in France. Look at Portugal, for example, the scene of its latest triumph: a look at the abominations there will be sufficient: 'guarda e passa.' publicists have realised how widespread is the influence of the speculations of Rousseau. But certain it is that in every country those who denominate themselves the party of progress, although in most cases they have probably never read a line of him, spout his sophisms and vent his verbiage, which have become current coin.

In England, the advance of the Rousseauan idea has been slower than on the Continent of Europe. Perhaps it was not until about the year 1820 that it made itself much felt in this country. It found here a distribution of political power resting upon quite another conception than the numerical—resting, not upon counting heads, but upon the representation of classes, corporations, localities, interests, and, we may say, all the elements of national life. That system, as it then existed, undoubtedly required reform. The so-called Reform Bill of 1832

Its germ is unquestionably in a well-known passage of Rousseau's

Discourse on the Origin of Inequality.

I quote this passage from an article of M. Bourget's, but unfortunately I have mislaid the reference. I have, however, before me the original French, which I am the more classic. which I am the more glad to give as I feel how inadequate is my rendering of it. La France dès 1889 a vu d'ignobles maîtres d'un jour proscrire, au nom de la liberté ses plus ch' de la liberté, ses plus chères croyances: des politiciens abominables jour du suffrage universel comme un instrument de règne, et installer leur médiocrité menteuse dans les plus hautes places. Elle l'a subi, ce suffrage universel, la plus monstreuse des tyrannies—car la force des nombres est la plus brutale des forces.' CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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did not reform, but overthrew it. The Duke of Wellington, 'rich in saving common sense's beyond any man of that time. truly told the House of Lords that 'the principle of this measure was not reform ': that the spirit animating it was 'the outcome of the French Revolution,' and that 'from the period of its adoption we shall date the downfall of the Constitution.' It was, in fact, the introduction into this country of political atomism, of a representation of mere numbers; and it was but the beginning of a series of similar statutes, all underlain by the Rousseauan principle, and each carrying that principle further. There were, indeed, wise and far-seeing men who sought to stay this disastrous movement, and who, for a brief timebut only for a brief time-checked it. Thus, Mr. Gladstone's Household Suffrage Bill of 1866 was opposed and defeated by the moderate section of the Liberal party led by Mr. Lowe, afterwards Lord Sherbrooke. That clear-headed thinker protested that one class should not be allowed to outvote all the other classes combined,9 and predicted that the effect of the legislation to which he offered such strenuous opposition would be to convert the trade unions into political organisations, merely intent on gaining their own ends, in utter disregard of national interests. The event has shown that he was right. The trade unions originally devised, and for some time carried on, for the most righteous object of protecting working men against the atrocious tyranny of capital, gradually fell under the influence of demagogues, and, in the event, became the instruments of Socialistic agitators. I have dwelt upon that subject in a previous number of this Review, already referred to, and need not here repeat what I there said. The average working man is too ignorant—that is not his fault—to understand anything beyond the simplest matters touching him personally-and even these he often misunderstands. He is the natural prey of the charlatan who flatters his vanity, stimulates his passions, and makes of his very defects a qualification for power, assuring him-it is part of Rousseau's message to the world-that education is depravation, that the untutored children of nature are endowed with an instinct qualifying them to sway the rod of empire:

You that woo the Voices, tell them old experience is a fool, Teach your flattered Kings that only they who cannot read can rule.

Such was the teaching of that demagogue in excelsis the late Mr. Gladstone, 'most incomparable master in the art of per-

⁸ And in other still more valuable qualities: 'the last honest and perfectly

brave man they had,' Carlyle judged; truly, as I think.

Lord Acton has pungently remarked that 'the doctrine of equality means government by the poor and payment by the rich.' Lectures on the French Revolution. Revolution, p. 300.

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suading the multitude of the thing that is not,' and was embodied in his memorable demand, 'Are the classes ever right when they differ from the masses?' The answer of history to that question is 'Nearly always.' But of history Mr. Gladstone was almost as ignorant as the populace upon which he played. If there is one lesson written more legibly than another upon the annals of the world, it is that majorities are almost always wrong: that truth is the prerogative of minorities—nay, it may even be of a minority of one. That is the verdict of history. It holds good of all ages. It specially holds good of the times in which we live. John Stuart Mill, in his Political Economy, is well warranted when he dwells upon 'the extreme unfitness at present of mankind in general, or of the labouring classes in particular. for any order of things which would make any considerable demand upon their intellect or virtue.' But it is on 'the labouring classes' that preponderating political power has been con-We have—or soon shall have—a Parliamentary electorate of eight millions. Of these, five millions will be manual labourers, whose votes, given—as they unquestionably will beunder the direction of Socialistic leaders, will dominate the one Chamber now left us. Sir Henry Maine has well characterised it as 'a type of government associated with terrible eventsa single Assembly armed with full power over the Constitution, which it may exercise at pleasure . . . a theoretically allpowerful Convention governed by a practically all-powerful secret Committee of Public Safety, but kept from complete submission to its authority by obstruction, for which its rulers are always trying to find a remedy in some kind of moral guillotine.' 10 This has been the political progress of this country-often the theme of such proud boasting-since the Progress! But of what kind? Surely Reform Act of 1832. it is like that of the Gadarene swine: swift certainly, but conducting to the steep place and the engulfing deep.

We may say, then, of this recent strike, which has been the immediate occasion of my writing, that it is the issue of that theory of political society which, originally exceptiated by Rousseau, has largely pervaded all European countries, and has transformed the English system of government. And it is notable how in recent years politicians in search of votes have set themselves to flatter and to fawn upon the masses, and, after the Gladstonian example, to sow discord between them and the classes. Surely a bad art, in which much proficiency has been exhibited of late by one of the King's Ministers, largely endowed with those predatory propensities which the nursery

¹⁰ Popular Government, p. 125. Sir Henry Maine wrote prophetically. are drifting towards a type, the sentence begins. His prophecy has come true. We have so drifted: 0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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We 18. rhyme attributes to the Welsh. The votes of the many have become of vast importance, and the price demanded for those votes, however exorbitant, has been paid without scruple. thus it has come to pass that trade unions have been converted from harmless necessary organisations for the protection of their members into noxious conspiracies uncontrolled by the law. The chief means by which they exercised their beneficent functions was collective bargaining-the only means, it had been found, of combating and counteracting the tyranny of capital. But collective bargaining implies-necessarily implies-as its correlative, collective responsibility. Trade unions and their funds are, however, exempt by statute from all liability for breach of agreements or awards made between workmen and employers. A notion had grown up that they were exempt, too, from actions of tort: that their funds could not be made liable to compensate a person who had sustained injury by wrongful acts done by The decision of the House of Lords in the Taff their agents. Vale case exploded this notion, and affirmed the liability of The Royal Commission trade unions in the case indicated. appointed in 1903 unanimously recommended that the law as laid down in the Taff Vale case should not be disturbed, and the Majority Report contains the following passage:

There is no rule of law so elementary, so universal, or so indispensable as the rule that a wrongdoer should be made to redress his wrong. If trade unions were exempt from this liability they would be the only exception, and it would then be right that that exception should be removed. That vast and powerful institutions should be permanently licensed to apply the funds they possess to do wrong to others, and by that wrong inflict upon them damage, perhaps to the amount of many thousand pounds, and yet not be liable to make redress out of those funds, would be a state of things opposed to the very idea of law, order, and justice.

The Government, however, did not adopt this view. Many of their supporters had bought the votes of the miners at the previous General Election by promising to do all in their power to procure a change in the law as laid down in the Taff Vale case, and united with the Labour party in bringing pressure to bear (as the phrase is) upon the Government. Of course the Government yielded to that pressure. By some means which have not come to the light, the Front Opposition Bench in the Commons was squared, and resistance in the Lords was obviated, and so the Trades Disputes Act, 1906, contained the following astounding provisions:

^{1.} An act done by a person in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute shall not be actionable on the ground only that it induces some other person to break a contract of employment.

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2. An action against a trade union, whether of workmen or masters, or against any members or officials thereof on behalf of themselves and all other members of the trade union, in respect of any tortious act alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the trade union, shall not be enter.

It is difficult to imagine anything more utterly opposed to justice, common sense, or public policy than legislation such as this. To use the words quoted above from the Majority Report of the Royal Commission, it confers upon the powerful associations which the trade unions have now become, the power to apply with immunity the vast funds which they possess to do wrong to others. But that is not the whole of the surrender made to them by the Trades Disputes Act, 1906. One of the most sacred rights of man is the right to labour. It may properly be called a natural right, as being inherent in human personality; as being an essential part of that freedom which is an attribute of humanity. The trade unions claim to make void that right. They demand that a workman shall work only when and how they dictate. They apply brute force to support their dictation, assaulting and battering those who resist it. And this tyranny the Legislature virtually authorises by its sanction given in the Trades Disputes Act to what is hypocritically called peaceful picketing.' The phrase is a derision. It is a contradiction in terms. Armed with this weapon of immunity from civil liability and from the criminal law, the miners entered upon the coal strike in a position of overwhelming superiority. Their demand was virtually this: 'Concede what we ask, or we will starve the nation.' The King's Ministers, cowed by them, reminded me of the attitude of the ass in Tristram Shandy: 'Don't thrash me, but if you will you may.' They tried in vain the blandishments of appeals and conferences, and the main point of the strikers was conceded. 11 A formal engagement made by the Government with the mine-owners was brushed aside on the mendacious allegation of 'misunderstanding.' 12 And so a daring

vage—or rather a living wage—while detesting the means taken by trade unions to enforce it. I may observe that nothing has been done to secure a minimum wage to workers in the sweated trades, whose awful condition cries to for venture. They can bring no pressure to bear on the Government.

writes: 'What occurred is as follows: The coal-owners approached the Government on Wednesday morning with a view to the insertion of a particular ment in the House of Lords, and the Government undertook to meet their provided the consent of the miners' official representatives was obtained, consent was obtained, and accordingly Lord Crewe announced his intention of moving it as an agreed amendment, indicating the exact wording of the course of his speech on the second reading. Later in the evening the Government that the course (having apparently changed their minds) ordered the Government.

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Newton Governamendwishes, That tion of f it in

ition of f it in miners Govern conspiracy against the commonwealth, which in most civilised countries would have been put down in a few days, was crowned with success, or, in the words of Mr. Redmond—with an eye on the Labour votes—came to an end 'in a magnificent triumph for the working men of England.'

It is well to remember-indeed, it is most necessary-that the industrial unrest, as the phrase is, of which we have recently had so striking an exhibition, is almost universal throughout what we call the civilised world. Everywhere preponderating political power has fallen to the manual labourers; and everywhere they have fallen, more or less, under the sway of men who set before them Utopias for the most part quite unrealisable. Not long ago I chanced to converse with a French Socialist who has a reputation for eloquence—he was certainly very voluble -and I pressed him, as closely as courtesy would allow, to tell me what he really wanted. 'Eh bien,' he said at last, 'Je suis pour la république universelle, et pour l'égalité des hommes.' He acknowledged, indeed, that the universal republic was very far off, and that he was unable to conjecture how it would be organised, but he thought it would embody the ideas of Rossel regarding inheritance, the family and property.13 However that might be, he was sure that the equality of men was the only true foundation of human society. I acknowledged that there is a fundamental equality in human nature which should find its corollary in the equality of all men before the law, and entreated him to tell me what other equality was possible. Physical and mental inequality he confessed as a fact, nor could he deny that this meant inequality in political value. I, for my part, admitted that every man is entitled to some share of political power, for the simple reason that he is a person, whose rational co-operation is necessary for his own development: but I urged that to say all men have a right to some share of political power is one thing; to say all men have a right to the same share is quite another. I ventured to urge that every man should count in the community for what he is really worth; that his mights (mächte) should be the measure of his rights; that to give every adult male the same share of political

ment to abandon the amendment, and Lord Crewe was compelled to make his humiliating statement. What misunderstanding is there in this? It is merely the repudiation of an engagement by the Government at the bidding of some members of the Labour party.'

18 He was good enough to send me the following extract from some work of Rossel's—he did not specify what—in which those ideas are sufficiently indicated: 'Il y a dans la société une classe nombreuse, industrieuse, puissante parce qu'elle est groupée, à laquelle ne s'appliquent ni vos lois sur l'héritage, ni vos lois sur la famille, ni vos lois sur la propriété. Changez vos lois, ou cette classe essayera de se créer une société à elle, où il n'y aura ni famille, ni héritage, ni propriété.'

power is as unreasonable as to require all men to pay the same amount of taxation. To which he would by no means assent. The egalitarian doctrine was to him a first principle, sacred from discussion. To me it appears a false principle, and in the doctrine of the right divine (or shall I say the inherent right?—the word 'divine' might give offence in some quarters) of majorities, which rests upon it, I find the perennial source of political corruption and social unrest. I believe that Schiller spoke the words of truth and soberness when he wrote:

What are mere numbers? Numbers are but nonsense; Wisdom is never found save with the few: Votes should be rightly weighed, not only counted: Sooner or later must that State go under Where numbers rule and foolishness determines. 14

It seems to me, then, that the best hope of Europe—it is a far-off hope-lies in the elimination of the central idea of the French Revolution, formulated by Rousseau's disciples as the first and fundamental proposition of The Declaration of the Rights of the Man and the Citizen. Men are not born, and do not continue, equal in rights. They are born and continue unequal in mights, and therefore in rights, and consequently they are not entitled to equal shares of political power. John Stuart Mill has summed up the matter in six words: 'Equal voting is in principle wrong.' It is unjust. But justice is the foundation of the State: 'justitia fundamentum regni.' And justice is not a thing which can be manufactured by political machinery. You may decree injustice by a law, but it remains unjust. You may affirm the thing that is not, by ever so many Acts of Parliament, but you will not convert it into the thing that is. remains false in spite of the declamation of doctrinaires and the madness of the people. And it is a mere foundation of sand for the political edifice reared upon it. Rousseau himself discerned this truth clearly enough, and admirably expressed it: 'If the Legislature establishes a principle at variance with that which results from the nature of things, the State will never cease to be agitated till that principle is expelled and invincible Nature has resumed her sway.'

Commending to my readers this dictum of Rousseau—one of the illuminating flashes of genius which light up, from time to time, the black darkness of his sophisms—let us consider, in

16 A poor translation, as I am well aware, of Schiller's majestic lines, but the best that will come to my pen at this moment:

'Was ist die Mehrheit? Mehrheit ist der Unsinn; Verstand ist stets bei Wen'gen nur gewesen. Man soll die Stimmen wägen und nicht zählen: Der Staat muss untergeh'n, früh oder spät, CC-OVA Mehr beinsing Gundul Kangrisch der spät, stri stri ind moi mil Asq a fi

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conclusion, the immediate prospect before us, now that the coal strike is supposed to be over. The men have got what they struck for, a minimum wage—they have got it at the cost of indescribable suffering to hardworking fathers and devoted mothers and innocent little children; of a loss of thirty millions to the country-and of the shattered nerves of Mr. Asquith. To gain an end justifiable in itself, they have waged a fratricidal war against a nation and have cowed its Government into submission. It is a colossal scandal that a single industry should have had power to do this thing. History may well inquire whether a nation in which it could happen was sane: whether it was ruled by fools or cowards. And what is to prevent a recurrence of this state of things in the future? Certainly the Minimum Wage Act 15 will not prevent it. certainly we cannot look to the Government for legislation to prevent it. The suggested Royal Commission is simply a device for the King's Ministers to avoid responsibility, and to save time for going on with their congenial occupation, majority mongoring. There is absolutely no necessity for a Royal Commission on the subject. Remedies which might be quite effective are plainly discernible. If anything is perfectly clear it is that this huge strike is largely due to the legislation which has put trade unions above the law. And the first step to remedy the mischief is, as clearly, to undo that legislation. To render the funds of a trade union liable for any damage done by or through it, for breach of any agreement entered into by it and ratified by the Board of Trade, utterly to prohibit picketing, to require that the accounts of trade unions shall be audited by public officials and published, and to enact that every member of a union should have votes in proportion to his interest in its funds, are measures so obviously just and reasonable that merely to mention them should be enough. They would give a deathblow to the influence of Socialists and Syndicalists who now lead the poor, ignorant 16 workers captive at their will. And so they would retard that dissolution of the social organism which is the

avowed end of those sectaries.17 But, on the other hand, they 15 I wonder how many of our legislators who passed this Act know that it redressed, after a fashion, an injustice of a century's standing. Until 1814 the justices were empowered by statute to establish a minimum wage between employers and employed. In that year capitalists, intent upon grinding the poor by applying ruthlessly the principle of competition working through supply and demand, pronounced all-sufficient by the Orthodox Political Economy, procured the abolition of this provision of the law, in spite of the opposition of the workers the workers, with whom, it may be noted, Pitt strongly sympathised.

an intelligent man enough, who observed, 'Well, I don't know much about this Milleny wage business, but we've got to obey our leaders.'

It is desirable to apprehend what Syndicalism and Socialism really are, where they differ, and in what they agree; otherwise we may fall into the

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would assuredly lose the Government the support of the Labour party in Parliament and the overwhelming votes of trade unionists in many constituencies. 18 That is held to be a conclusive reason why the King's Ministers should not initiate or support them. Parliamentary Government, as it exists among us, means the complete subordination of national to party interests. Ministers are always hampered by the fear of losing votes. And so the action of the Government is paralysed in all departments of the State. The gravest questions—the questions which most nearly concern the most vital interests of the community—are shelved. 'Le peuple ne m'intéresse que lorsqu'il vote,' a French demagogue is reported to have said, in a moment of cynical candour. And it is at the cost of these voting animals, or rather of the nation at large, that the party game is played: the poor, long-suffering, stupid, stolid nation, which looks helplessly on and pays the piper-whose price, as in this matter of the recent coal strike, is sometimes heavy.

What, then, is the prospect before us? The trade unions are led, as they have been for the last fifteen years-led, yes, and skilfully organised—by men deficient indeed in economical knowledge, but of great force of character and untrammelled by scruples. The rank and file of the unions do not know what they want. But the leaders have a distinct apprehension of their own aims. The pamphlet of which the Times gave a full account on the 27th of February-The Miners' Next Stepis sufficiently enlightening. The strategy of the organisation

error of Mr. Lloyd George or, if that be possible, into a worse error. Mr. Snowden, who knows what he is talking about, is reported, in the Times of the 1st of April, to have said, 'Syndicalism is opposed to organisation and to the State: it is anarchy pure and simple, and the very opposite of Socialism. No doubt this is so in theory; but, as Mr. Keir Hardie observed in a speech, reported in the same issue of the Times, 'When the Syndicalist said that every trade union should be merged into one union he was preaching the same theory as the Socialists. They differed with the Syndicalists when they said that the mines should belong to the miners and the railways to the railwaymen, and so on. That was a debt to the miners and the railways to the railwaymen, and so on. That was a debatable point on which he need not enter. goal of the Syndicalist was not essentially different from that of the Socialist He did not went the call He did not want the colliers to own the pits, or the factory workers the mills; he wanted the community mills; he wanted the community as a whole to own them, so that they could be worked for the good of the be worked for the good of the community. He would oppose, to the utmost, any attempt to cause out of the community. any attempt to cause antagonism between Syndicalism and Socialism, as there were both trying to not a syndical were both trying to put some backbone and determination into the working classes. Both were consiler the working state classes. Both were equally anxious for the overthrow of the existing state of society, and the creation of society, and the creation of a newer and better state in which there should be freedom in the widest and beard and better state in which there then be freedom in the widest and broadest sense of the term.' Syndicalism, is one thing, and Socialism another: but Socialism, through the trade which it commands, unites with Syndicalism, which it commands, unites with Syndicalism in making war upon society much to Mr. Keir Hardie's satisfaction

Of course it must always be remembered that it would be in the power the majority of the electronte. of the majority of the electorate—the five millions of manual labourers—to referent the suggested legislation, and in the suggested legislation. the suggested legislation, and, in the absence of the introduction of a rational system of representation rit corner by system of representation, Dithrain out the Absence of the they would do so.

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which it proposes is set out with great frankness in four paragraphs, which are worth quoting :

That the old policy of identity of interest between employer and employed

be abolished and a policy of open hostility be installed.

That for the purpose of giving greater strength to the lodges they be encouraged to join together to form joint committees and to hold joint meetings: these committees to have power to initiate and carry out the policy within their own area, unhampered by agent or executive council, so long as they act within their own financial resources. The lodges should, as far as possible, discard the old method of coming out on strike for any little minor grievance, and adopt the more scientific weapon of the irritation strike, by simply remaining at work, and so contrive by their general conduct to make the colliery unremunerative.

That a continual agitation be carried on in favour of increasing the minimum wage and lessening the hours of labour until we have extracted

the whole of the employers' profits.

That our objective be to build up an organisation that will ultimately take over the mining industry and carry it on in the interests of the workers.

The authorship of this pamphlet is, I believe, kept a secret, but there can be no doubt that the words which I have quoted are not the words of irresponsible men: they represent the views of a committee, a number of very influential men who, for all practical purposes, exercise a preponderating influence over the South Wales miners. And it is unquestionable that the leaders of many trade unions-avowed Socialists or Syndicalists-are animated by this conception of underhand war and ulti-It is equally unquestionable that the success mate pillage. of the organisers of the coal strike will hugely encourage others to follow their example. Nor can we even dismiss the Syndicalist notion of a general strike as a bad dream. It will probably come, though it may be long in coming. But what we have immediately to expect is a series of gigantic strikes, fraught with ruin to British industries, and fraught with intense suffering to manual labourers and to the poor generally; for the war thus. waged is not merely against capital, but incidentally against other branches of labour. That is the prospect before us. What is to prevent its being realised? I remember my old friend Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, on his return from India, saying to me, The real governing power in this country is Funk.' We must make an end of that governing power if there is not to be an end of England.

W. S. LILLY.

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WHY SOME OF THE CLERGY WILL WELCOME DISESTABLISHMENT

THE protagonists of ecclesiastical strife have now descended into the political arena, and the 'modest stillness which becomes a man of peace' has given place to the 'blast of war blowing in our ears.' The drum ecclesiastic is being vigorously beaten to summon the Church's faithful liegemen once more to man the walls and to line the trenches in order to repel the renewed attack upon the Established Church in Wales. As one who in previous years has loyally responded to his leaders' call and has taken no little part in press and on platform on behalf of the Establishment, it may be of interest to some of his fellow-Churchmen to give his reasons for adopting a complete volte face on this question. Most of his friends are Churchmen, nearly all of whom view the Government's proposals with abhorrence and dismay. To defend and to advocate these appears to them incomprehensible, not to say treacherous. But there are many whose devotion to the Church cannot be questioned, who are convinced of the righteousness and the necessity of the present demand for Disestablishment made by 'a majority,' as Mr. Gladstone said (and how much truer his words are now), 'constitutionally, lawfully, peacefully and repeatedly returned to Parliament.

So long as the State desires to maintain an established religion there is nothing to prevent the Church acquiescing, provided that the union between the two is not injurious (as it is here thought to be) to the well-being of either. But the question is entirely and in the guestion is entirely and in the guestion. is entirely one for citizens, as citizens only, to decide. nothing unscriptural in an Establishment, since the Old Testament brings before ment brings before us a theorratic state in which the civil and religious powers are a large for Nor is it wrong for the State to recognise and honour the Church, although forms that the recognise and honour the Church, although forms that the recognition should take may and do vary from time to time and charles are charles and charles and charles are charles are charles and charles are charles and charles are charles are charles are charles and charles are charles and charles are c time to time, and should rather be offered by the State than in any way demanded by the Church. Where would be the application's propre of our territorial forces if, in defiance of the nation's will, they objected to the control of the nation's will, they objected to their disbandment? For the CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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insist upon its Establishment is as invidious as for a man to demand salutation from one who is not disposed to make it, and savours of a lack of dignity and self-respect. If, therefore, Churchpeople contend for the maintenance of the union between Church and State, they should contend as citizens and not as Churchmen. But as religious liberty is now understood the State is bound to see that no religious organisation shall retain any privilege, so far as is practicable, that other religious bodies cannot share. The only reason that this country has now an established religion is an historic one. It was not only that identity of belief existed once between Church and nation, but that the Church at one time was co-extensive with the nation.

In early times [wrote the late Professor Freeman] the Church was simply the nation looked at with reference to religion, just as the Army was the nation looked at for the purpose of warfare. . . . The ministers of the Church were national officers for one set of purposes, enjoying the rights . . . of national officers.

Even when in the sixteenth century religious differences became serious, it was long held

that the Church and the nation ought to be one, and that dissent in religion was a thing to be put down by law as much as sedition in politics. It was held to be the duty of the civil power in each State to prescribe its own religion to its subjects. . . . And this is beyond doubt the original meaning of the Church being by law established.

Church defenders are fond of quoting Lord Mansfield and Speaker Onslow, who spoke of dissent as 'established.' nearly every society must have certain relations with the State in which it finds itself, and may have certain privileges conceded to it. For instance, Nonconformists have, by statute law, their ministers exempted from serving certain civil offices, and their chapels registered and certified for worship and exempted from rates. But similar privileges are equally enjoyed by Churchmen And in so far as these will be retained by the and others. Church, in a constitution adopted by the Church and sanctioned by the State, the Act which will disestablish the Church will establish it again. For 'disestablishment' is concerned not with what is common to many societies, but with what is exceptional to one. Since the Toleration Act of 1689 about fifty Acts of Parliament have been passed removing certain exclusive privileges of the Church which in course of time had been allowed to develop. Disestablishment will but complete the process, so far as is practicable, and at the same time will remove the special control which the State has now, in Crown, Parliament, and Judicature, over the Church. There is no need to cite any

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special statute 1 by which the Church was established. was with the Gallican Church, prior to the French Revolution, so it has been with the English Church—Establishment is the result not of a determined legislative act, like the Napoleonic Concordat, but of an unconscious growth. To speak of the Church as 'established by law' before other religious societies arose would have been almost meaningless. The expression was found necessary for purposes of differentiation. Disestablishment will remove that monopoly of combined privilege and control which is not shared by other religious bodies. And so long ago as 1885 Gladstone detected 'a current almost throughout the civilised world, slowly setting in the direction of disestablishment.' To confuse the Church, as a religious body, with the Establishment, which means its peculiarly distinctive relation to the State, is very much as if one were to confuse a bird with the cage which imprisons it, or rather with the special privileges -food, attention, protection, etc.—which the encaged bird may

enjoy-or deplore.

That both Church and State are weakened through Establishment few intelligent observers can fail to notice. inability of the Establishment to reform or to adapt itself to its changing environment. When in 1895 the attack on the Welsh Establishment failed, there were many who believed that the Church was on the threshold of a great opportunity. It was the present writer's lot to join with two others in founding the Church Reform League.2 We felt that there was no abuse within the Church which could not be removed without resorting to Disestablishment. For the next ten years the Unionists-the avowed friends of the Church—were in office. Did our bishops from their place of influence and power in the Lords produce any great scheme and press its acceptance upon their friends and allies in both Houses? Nothing worthy of the great Church of England, nor in any sense adequate to the situation, was even attempted. The old creaking wagon of the Church's system has been allowed to lumber along the same well-worn ruts, and the charge levelled against us at the time, that we enthusiastic Church Reformers were nothing more than Utopians of the Utopians, has been completely justified. There has been no relaxation in the attitude of stolid conservatism which has so long characterised our ecclesiastical authorities, who have therefore left the fore left the present external organisation and endowments of

¹ The Church, however, is established by the Acts of Supremacy Henry VIII and 1 Fig. 1 (26 Henry VIII., and 1 Elizabeth) and the Act of Uniformity (2 & 3 Edward VI).

2 His sermon, preached at Out to Act of Uniformity (2 & 3 Edward VI).

² His sermon, preached at Over (August 1895), entitled 'Churchmen's Grievances,' which sought to explain its then programme, was the first publication of the League, which, however, was not formally inaugurated until the following November.

the Church at the mercy and caprice of an electorate which tests institutions not so much by their past history and venerable traditions as by their present utility and democratic sympathies. The Church, which was more or less fitted at the Reformation to meet the exigencies of a time made new by the Renaissance and the invention of printing, has not been adapted to meet the requirements of a time made new by a belief in evolution and the wonderful inventions of electricity and steam. It is absurd to suppose that this institution, if it is to be in perfect touch with Demos, can remain the same as it was in days before the educational and political enfranchisement of the people. To bring about a conception of religion consistent with sound reason and the newer knowledge to which we have attained, and at the same time satisfying the best religious instincts, is the noble work before us. But how very unsatisfactory are the ingenious compromises and mediæval survivals which are offered. The best minds long for a religious teaching which, while appealing to their heart and will, shall not do despite to their intellectual outlook upon life. But our authorities, with their cowardly opportunism, fearful of doing anything to jeopardise the Church as a State institution, show far more consideration for those bent on reaction than for the progressives who form the most promising feature in the Church's life.

Hence it is that the road now taken by very many of the English clergy is one which is more and more diverging from that in which the laity are walking. How many fine young minds go to our Universities with the intention of becoming ordinands who are repelled by our obsolete methods and cumbrous machinery, and, above all, by our narrow, stereotyped formulæ which tend to sterilise living thought? Are our leaders really content to stand and watch our women follow (as unless we alter our ways they most certainly will before long) their brothers in forsaking the assembling of themselves together? Religion has two functions to fulfil: to furnish some explanation of man's relation to and destiny in the Universe, and to offer practical guidance in life. If its explanation of the Universe and of the operating forces therein is being increasingly discredited by facts, its guidance of life must be weakened. One of two things must therefore happen. Either the whole Christian position must be re-stated, or the world will turn away from Christianity. But Christianity is too fine a stream to lose itself in the sands. Spiritual progress, with so millennial a past, is bound to continue. For the history of mankind is felt to be an ordered process which is tending to the realisation of a destiny as glorious as it is definite and unique. But, measured by its power to spiritualise our national character and to persuade our people to follow the

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ublicatil the highest ideals, who can question the utter inability of our present ecclesiastical machinery? Is there a single department of our nation's life, apart from the Church itself, where the devout, orthodox Churchman, as such, whom the Establishment seeks to produce, is prominent? Whether we turn to our politics, our industry, our commerce, our literature, our science—above all, to our shame be it said, to our efforts to ameliorate the social and economic conditions of the masses—the same melancholy failure awaits us. While a respectable, conventional mediocrity is as a rule found in the Establishment, many of the finest and most heroic spirits of our time repudiate all allegiance to its claims, and have been largely reared outside its borders. If they give any passing thought at all to the deliberations which characterise our ordinary ecclesiastical gatherings and journals, it must be one of contempt as they watch Churchmen continually expounding principles they have not the courage to apply, while they wonder how such an occupation is not more generally demoralising than it even appears. For it should be remembered that in its attempt, in theory at least, to scale the greatest height the Establishment exhibits most of all that shameless contrast between what is proposed and what is done. And they know too, and lament, that its authorities, too often immersed in unprofitable deliberations concerning themes more or less outworn, give an enormous preference to those 'safe' spirits who cling to the threadbare clothing of the past, and who are too slow to move with the times in providing a fitter raiment for the noble ideal mankind has in Christ.

How conspicuous is the failure of the Establishment to grapple even with its own most flagrant abuses. The machinery for the removal of the mentally afflicted, the incompetent and indolent, and even evil-living clergy, is miserably inefficient. For at least two years before a recently deceased and deeply-respected bishop resigned he was quite incapable of managing his diocese, the work of which was undertaken by his capable suffragans, but at a cost of just one-tenth of the annual income of the see! If a diocese can thus be managed on so little, why is it necessary to provide the many thousands to those who will plead so eloquently on behalf of home and foreign Missions, and paint pathetic pictures of the poverty of the clergy? No men can work harder than our bishops. But how is it that they do not see that for many a large part of their work is rendered futile through their 'fatal

For seven years the writer (whose experience in this matter is far from being exceptional) was incumbent of a Yorkshire parish. Neither the bishop, his suffragan, nor his archdeacon either officially visited it or even asked one question concerning it. Nor was the fact that he declined to continue the farce of filling up obsolete annual forms once commented upon by the authorities!

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opulence'? And is 'the herd of deer,' are 'the miles of carpet,' the palaces, and the parks, to be clung to until the State effects what the constraining love of Christ for the struggling millions they have been called upon to oversee has been unable to effect?

What has been done to reform our cathedral chapters, which, to the derision of those who know much of their inner working, too often absorb enormous revenues to provide, with many noble exceptions, mere sinecures? The Parson's Freehold, a relic of feudalism, with its frequently mischievous principle of J'y suis, j'y reste, is in urgent need of modification. Nor has anything been done to deal with private patronage, with its usurpation of the rights of the congregation, which would have aroused the indignation of a St. James as he saw the 'man with a gold ring, in fine clothing,' choosing not only the best seat, but too often the indifferent pastor. The monstrous sale of advowsons still goes on. A grossly excessive number of societies, with their expensive organisations, show how badly husbanded, uneconomically disbursed, and inadequately distributed are the financial resources of the Church. The fifty churches of the City of London have between them a Sunday congregation which could easily go into two or three of them, and yet their total income is the equivalent of that of the Society for providing Additional Curates throughout the whole Church of England! The Dilapidations Act of 1871 is another scandal. A rector having occupied a benefice for a few years died, and his representatives were called upon to repair the chancel at a cost of 1400l. The widow of another incumbent, who had just before his death repaired his benefice, had to rebuild stables which the vicarage, it is admitted, would be better without. Such attempts at reform as have been made bear the usual hall-mark of the Establishment's half-heartedness and incompetency. The archbishops appoint a committee to deal with what has long been the utterly chaotic condition of the Church's finance, and do not allow it even to refer to the ancient endowments. As if the laity did not know that in the more equitable distribution of the funds already at the disposal of the Church, the key is to be found. As well leave out, as an archdeacon has recently said, all reference to a widow's assistance from her wealthy relatives when inquiring into her needs! is such trifling which disgusts the average man. authorities have allowed the golden opportunity to pass; they have proved once more the truth of the cynical motto Episcopi Angliæ semper pavidi; and upon them will rest the responsibility If the conditions have now arrived which will make posterity regard the Establishment as a phase which is

Gone glimmering through the dreams of things that were.

And if the two great contemporary tasks before Christendom are, to separate the transient from the permanent in religion. to differentiate the essentials of Christianity from the complicated non-essentials by which they have been so long overlaid and disfigured; and to evolve a social system for mankind which shall be a worthy embodiment of the true principles of the Christian faith; then the failure of the Establishment to fulfil the latter has been only equalled by its failure to grapple with the former. Depend upon it that the kindly toleration shown it as a picturesque survival and historic link with the past cannot much longer be extended to it as an absurd anachronism, or as an irritating obstacle in the path of social justice and humanitarian progress. Too many Anglican ecclesiastics are ready, for the sake of maintaining the Establishment. to sacrifice the most sacred principles for which the Church has her raison d'être and to ally themselves with the most reactionary, or at any rate the least progressive elements in the community. That great good has been done by the Church let us gladly and fully acknowledge. The benevolence of her clergy affords lucid proof that they are earnest and sincere, zealous and single-minded in their sacred calling. She has kept the Christian ideal before the nation, which has also been nobly served, especially in its poorest members, by a multitude of deeds of charity and mercy. The greatest pains, too, are generally taken to provide frequent occasions for reverent worship, and to attach all sorts and conditions to her many and various organisations. But all this splendid work has been largely neutralised by the ordinary churchman's terrible lack of sympathy with the great movements of humanitarian and social progress.4 It was the attitude of the Church as a whole during the last two General Elections, when it is not too much to say that the hard-won liberties of our race were in considerable jeopardy, which made the writer vow that never again would he support the Establishment. It was amazing to see how the Church as a whole sided with the forces of rank, privilege and wealth, and of every selfish vested interest, in maintaining the absurd veto of the House of Lords upon the legislation approved by a huge majority of elected representatives of forty-five millions of our people; how it would rather the food of the poor were taxed instead of the unearned increment of the landed property of the rich; how it supports a policy—that, as a Conservative statesman has said,

As evidence of this one need only read the political effusions—as obviously prejudiced as they are often ludicrously inane—of many a Parish Magazine. They go far to justify Clarendon's terrible indictment—which Bishop Creighton Supported in terms only a little less drastic and sweeping—that 'the clergy supported in terms only a little less drastic and sweeping—that 'the clergy understand the least and take the worst measure of human nature of all mankind understand the least and take the worst measure of human nature of all mankind that can write and refide ublic Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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of gambling with a nation's food-which the democracies of our Western civilisation are, for the most part, struggling to overthrow, and which the best economists of all our own political parties for a couple of generations have regarded (to use another Unionist's words) as the shameful exploitation of the many to enrich the few. There is no need to imply that this support was not given conscientiously. But such has been the blinding effect of the Establishment, around which privilege and property centre, and such has been the terrible mistake of our leaders in allowing themselves to be hitched to the chariots of reaction. through either a foolish short-sightedness or a craven mistrust of a democracy which was, and still is, ready to be its truest friend, that in its history since the time of Elizabeth, at least, it has so generally espoused the wrong cause in the nation's struggle for liberty and progress, that it would almost be a sufficient test to say that when any particular policy was supported by the clergy or Church party as a whole, the opposite policy was generally the right one. It is only natural that the main tendency of the Establishment-perhaps, too, of all organised religion-should be conservative. But the spirit of Christ, which above all things it was the duty of the Establishment to conserve, should have prevented the majority of its adherents being ranged, as history proves has been the undoubted case, on the side of political oppression and wrong. Rather should it have sought, as its Scriptural charter would have had it, to undo the heavy burden, to let the oppressed go free, and to see that they that are in need and necessity have not doles, but right. The Bishop of Oxford has well described the work of the Church as 'wandering along the streets as a kind of salvage corps to pick up the diseased and the wounded when it was too late.'

That this indictment is only too true is easily proved. Some years ago the *Times*—a journal not unduly prejudiced against the Church—was forced to acknowledge that the Establishment

was in favour of the alliance of Continental absolutists against constitutional government; it was against the amelioration of the criminal code . . .; it was in favour of hanging for almost any offence for which a man is now fined at the Assizes; it was in favour of the slave-trade, and afterwards of slavery; it was against the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; it was against Catholic emancipation; it was against Parliamentary reform and municipal reform; it was against the commutation of tithe, although it has since had to acknowledge the Act as of great benefit; it was against the repeal of the corn laws and the navigation laws; it was against Free Trade generally; it was against all education beyond the simplest elements. . . Indeed, it is hard to say what it has not been against in the way of improvement.

Such is the terrible indictment which our leading journal made against the National Church. Should not such a damning record

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make churchmen pause, and consider whether the attitude which the vast majority of them take up towards the men and measures of to-day will not add to the Establishment's condemnation in the future? It is, however, probably easier for the Ethiopian to change his skin or the leopard his spots than for the Establishment to alter its political and social course.

Nobody pretends [says Lord Morley] that the State Church alone is answerable for all the iniquities and follies of legislation and policy in which she has taken a leading part during these three centuries. What is true, and a very important truth, is that the State Church has never resisted or moderated these coarse, ferocious, intolerant, and obstructive political impulses in the nation; that, on the contrary, she has stimulated and encouraged them, and, where she could, has most unflinchingly turned them to her own profit.

When the national conscience was shocked at the employment of Chinese labour in South Africa, and the attending circumstances, the Archbishop of Canterbury condoned it as 'a regrettable necessity.' When, on the other hand, John Bull, in his 'jingo and mafficking fevers,' needed sobering and restraining, the professed heralds of the Gospel of love and goodwill towards men vied with the Yellow Press in inflaming his passions. How many of the clergy and the frequenters of our altars allow themselves to be swayed by a prejudiced and partisan Press, too often run in the interests of powerful and wealthy combines, and in their drawing-rooms to give vent to their vituperative scorn of statesmen whose names their descendants will probably emblazon among those who have done great things for their country. But of what use is it for Churchpeople to 'build the sepulchres of the prophets and garnish the tombs of the righteous' (one recalls the recent dedication of the Bunyan window in Westminster Abbey), while they continue to witness to themselves that they are the sons of them that slew the prophets?

What was, and still is, the attitude of the average comfortably-living church-goer towards the Insurance Act? Here we have a noble, far-reaching instrument, capable, too, of splendid development, for combating sickness and unemployment—those two dire evils that are ever darkening or threatening so many millions of our homes. Of course no reform ever worth carrying has been carried except in the teeth of clenched antagonisms, while every great at the second course of the average comfort.

while every great social reformer must expect to

Stand pilloried on infamy's high stage And bear the pelting scorn of half an age.

It was therefore anticipated that those apparently callous to misery and suffering so long as party capital could be made, CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kanga Collection, Haridwar

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would not hesitate to use unscrupulous misrepresentations and shameless suppressions to mystify and mislead. But amid this cynical campaign were our church workers and the more leisured of our churchpeople prominent in their desire to understand and promulgate the plain, unvarnished truth concerning this measure, which so profoundly affects the domestic and industrial welfare of the nation? Here, indeed, was an opportunity for the National Church to serve its day and generation! Insurance Act, with the Old Age Pensions, comes as an enormous boon to our toiling masses whose health and happiness it will so greatly promote, and to very many of whom it will be 'as an hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.' And yet too often the only comment heard was the parrot-cry of 'rushed, ill-considered legislation,' while the gloating was only too apparent in the hope that the doctor difficulty, or the mean 'Servant-tax' agitation, would succeed in bringing this beneficent measure tottering to the ground.

It seems almost as though a strong if somewhat sardonic sense of humour belongs to the power that has evolved such an institution as the Establishment (as distinct from the Church), seeing that it is ever bent on demonstrating to the world how not to realise the splendid ideals of Universal Peace and Brotherhood with which it has been entrusted. Dr. Gore (1st of February 1912) has told us how he has 'constantly sat down bewildered, before the blank and simply stupid refusal of the mass of church-What produces this people to recognise their social duties. great blindness of heart and mind?' Although the bishop said he had tortured his mind in trying to find an answer, surely part of it is to be found in the 'Established' position of the Church. When the writer was vicar of a large Lancashire parish, he found that he had two sets of people to lead and encourage—his own congregation on conventional lines, and a band of earnest social reformers who sat very loosely to any kind of religious organisation, and that the public spirit, zeal and earnestness shown for the betterment of the world was not in the former but in the latter, and that the two sets were almost mutually exclusive. He was, moreover, in occasional receipt of letters from young men in the mining and manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, who lamented how little encouragement, in their desire to improve the social conditions of those among whom they lived, they received from the Church.

It is to free our nation from so terrible an incubus as the Establishment has proved itself to be—a national deadweight against nearly everything that makes for political freedom and social amelioration, while leaving the Church free to uplift the

high and humanising ideal which is hers, and to apply the redemp. tive graces at her command, that we would plead with the State to rid us once for all of our miserable fetters, our intellectual To pretend that Dis. bondage, and our cramping influences. establishment means the national repudiation of God is, in the face of the indictment here brought, ridiculous. The Christian side of our political controversies has been largely championed by Nonconformists; while tested by its capacity to form a right judgment in all things pertaining to justice, liberty and brother. hood, the Establishment has proved itself an ignominious failure. While a Nonconformist To take only a recent illustration. preacher led and fostered the agitation against a disgraceful contemplated prize-fight, several priests of the Establishment publicly favoured it. To his great pain and disappointment the late Mr. Gladstone was compelled to acknowledge that the Establishment had 'gone lamentably wrong upon questions involving deeply the interests of truth, justice, and humanity.'

But here it may be not unreasonably asked, In what way will Disestablishment remedy this unfortunate condition of things? Well, let us acknowledge at once that Disestablishment will not work any immediate change for the better. It possesses, of course, no magical efficacy. It is even possible that a feeling of soreness and a sincere if mistaken sense of injustice may at first produce a somewhat paralysing tendency and a further accentuation of bitterness in our religious differences. higher life of the Church, freed from meretricious influences, would soon assert itself. Above all, the genuinely felt but harmfully operating necessity for allying herself with those unprogressive and reactionary forces (which seek to promote, as against the common weal, privilege and self-interest), in order to preserve her connexion with the State, would have, for ever, passed away; while the Church, liberated from so much which was hampering her activity and restricting her development, would not only brace herself anew to fulfil her noble mission and splendid destiny, but, in so doing, would also attract many an earnest spirit to her ranks, who at present, though one with her in aim, is too often repelled. In love with those high ideals, and those deeply tender associations which tions which are so peculiarly hers, inspired by her long, romantic if chequered history, attracted by her stately ritual and pathetic liturary was morely liturgy, yes, moved even by pity for what was held to be due to persecution and to persecution and unjustifiable injury, her present sons and daughters would find the sound of daughters would find their loyalty and devotion quickened; while a number of able and a number of able and earnest recruits who now join other organisations would probable and earnest recruits who now join other organisations. tions would probably rally to her ministry. And all this fresh life and vigour all the life and vigour, all this renewed interest and deepened sympathy, would more than would more than compensate her for any apparent loss of prestige CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar 191 and

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fresh pathy, restige and for a certain temporary crippling of her resources. At the same time a first great obstacle towards the ultimate reunion of our English Christendom will have been removed, while our nation in its growing impatience of all that savours of privilege and pretentiousness will be more ready to welcome the old Faith as presented to them in the newer light and in the improved conditions.

The note which the two archbishops strike in their appeal to the nation is a curious one. Disestablishment, they say, will deprive the nation of its legal right to the spiritual ministrations of the Church. Is it not obvious that a very large section of the nation, by making voluntary provision for the spiritual ministrations they prefer, and another perhaps still larger section by ignoring such ministrations altogether, have no desire to make use of the provision which the law makes? And are we to suppose that any minister of religion, including the vast number of voluntary agents now found nearly everywhere, will no longer minister to one in need even when the law's sanction is removed? And of what value, after all, is the law's Spiritual things are only spiritually sanction in such cases? discerned and, to be of any value, must be spiritually and not legally administered.

If this article be a true statement concerning the Establishment, then few impartial and thoughtful observers who take a wide view of the general trend of human progress and social advance can fail to see that an Established religion is not in keeping with the Zeitgeist, and belongs to an age which we are quickly outgrowing. Every great intellectual ferment is followed by political and religious change; while none but a faithless pessimist can question that such a change will but be in the interests of a purer and nobler faith. Why then should not the Church as a whole recognise that the time has come when her relation to the State must be recast, both in the interest of her own spiritual liberty and progress and to vindicate the impartiality of the State towards its citizens of all Let the Church meet the changing circumstances by a voluntary act of sacrifice which would do more for her permanent welfare than an unwarrantable struggle, waged in, what cannot but appear to outsiders, the spirit of any worldly concern fighting for its own, to preserve endowments which are sure to be wrung from her sooner or later. A well-known Labour leader avowed to a friend of the writer that the masses had so far lost faith in the sincerity of the Church that only some great act of sacrifice on her part would lead them to treat her claim seriously. Are our leaders capable of inspiring the Church with It would obviate the piecemeal treatment this noble spirit?

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of the Welsh Church which is complained of, and if the Church as a whole relinquished her present right to the tithe, the reasonableness and justice of which relinquishing the writer is prepared to show, the nation would most probably allow her to retain the rest of her ancient endowments, as well as her more recent benefactions, equitably administered, to reorganise an institution which was thus proving itself worthy, its unhappy past notwithstanding, of the moral and spiritual leadership of a great democracy. Thus the larger and richer life, based on better social and economic conditions, for which the great masses of our people are evidently and naturally struggling, would, by the Church's timely sympathy and effective aid, tend to become a deeper and a higher life as well.

And what eloquent testimony would thereby be borne to the truth and potency of her Master's great paradoxical saying, 'Whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for My sake shall find it.'

FRANCIS E. POWELL.

RECENT GERMAN FICTION

It is scarcely too much to say that to the average English reader modern German literature is as pathless a wilderness as Central Africa, or as the vanished Teuton forests were to all but the boldest among the Teutons themselves. Upon French literary ground we can manage to stumble along, at a pinch; but the German paths are too tangled, and the German soil too clogging for our exploring steps. It is not the difficulty of language alone which is the obstacle here, but likewise the quality of the fruit which we are expected to gather, and, naturally, also to enjoy.

Very high quality, in very many cases, but for all that, tough—exceedingly tough, and requiring a deal of mastication before yielding up its flavour. German thoroughness is, no doubt, an awe-inspiring quality; but when applied to the manufacturing of fiction it has its drawbacks. The nation of thinkers, even when not composing philosophical treatises, only requires the smallest provocation in order to start off in its favourite direction; and, whatever cause he has at heart, the typical German is apt to be so terribly in earnest about it, as at times to forget that he is supposed to be telling a story. The result, not infrequently, is to send the wearied reader, as with a rebound, back to the most frivolous French or the shallowest English story procurable.

And yet, to let the German fiction of the day slip quite beyond our ken does not seem desirable; the less so at a moment when the political situation is slowly resolving itself into a ring formed by the rest of the world around two combatants, who face each other, the one armed to the teeth—the other apparently still of opinion that he can manage without those arms. In fiction is reflected much of the momentary mood of a nation; and therefore I believe that a study of the newest German novels may have its

The first thing to strike one is that, taken as a whole, they are virulently national, either sentimentally steeped in, or aggressively bristling with, that ideal of universal German brother-hood which for forty years past has been spinning its threads from north to south, gradually smothering the memory of that

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'brother-war,' which is beginning to be looked back upon remorsefully, as upon a crime.

Impossible, of course, to make more than a very restricted selection among the flood of volumes which the last year or so has brought with it. Old names and new names, veterans and recruits, are here represented. It is superfluous to apologise for beginning with one of the latter. Has not Place à la jeunesse!

long since become the order of the day?

In the foremost ranks of these 'new men' stands Rudolf Hans Bartsch, that Austrian artillery officer who has turned his sword into a pen, and doubtless finds the latter instrument about a hundred times more lucrative than the former. of his latest work, Das Deutsche Leid (German Sorrow), is significant in the extreme. Inevitably we think of Weltschmerz, but are at fault here, inasmuch as this particular variety of Wellschmerz might more correctly be termed Seeschmerz (See Sorrow-not to be confounded with that other sort of 'Seasorrow' which affects only the baser portion of our being), since the theme of the novel, stripped of its trappings and somewhat brutally expressed, is the striving of the German nation-perhaps we might say of the German Empire?-to get a firm hold upon the Adriatic. Not all Bartsch's undoubtedly poetic vein, not all his rather exuberant flowers of speech, can hide this naked and quite prosaic fact. Listen to this:

Those few hundred thousands, that language and hatred stand between the German nation and thee, the object of her yearning, thou blue flame, thou classic brine upon whom sailed Odysseus, thou dreamer in the land of sun, thou road to the empire of the world: Adria!

That sounds pretty plain, does it not even without the

italics, which are mine?

For the information of the English reader let it here be remarked that the South of Styria has a pre-eminently Slav population, while it owes its culture and most of its towns to German settlers, who ruled supreme until that period of national awakening which, some fifty years back, swept across Europe. Shaken out of their lethargy, the Southern Slavs made the same discovery which elsewhere others were making—the discovery that they were a nation; and there followed the inevitable developments. The original possessors of the soil turned upon their masters, in whom they had come to see usurpers, and their masters, in whom they had come to see usurpers, and another of those fierce national struggles which tear the entrails another of those fierce of the Austrian Empire has since been raging. It is in the name of culture and of their historic past raging. It is in the name of culture and of their historic past raging. It is in the name of culture and of their historic past raging. It is in the name of culture and of their historic past raging. It is in the name of culture and of their historic past raging. It is in the name of culture and of their historic past raging. It is in the name of culture and of their historic past raging. We were here same on the strength of previous possession. We were

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before you,' the one side says. 'But you were nothing without us!' replies the other. 'You have got no Past!' 'But we have a Future!' Thus the retorts fly backwards and forwards. In this case the bitterness of the national struggle is deepened by the fact that the dense mass of Slav population lies like a bar between the Germans and that 'Adria,' which we have just heard sung as the object of their yearning. It is the old story of the lion and the lamb. As Max Nordau somewhere says: It is impossible to blame the lion for wanting to eat the lamb, if he happens to be hungry; but it is equally impossible to blame the lamb for not wanting to be eaten. From a personal point of view each is completely in the right. Here the only doubt admissible concerns the rightful distribution of the rôles. Some people see a Teuton lion and a Slav lamb; while others-our author among them-very plainly behold a roaring Slav lion, and a muchwronged, spotlessly innocent lambkin, drooping beneath the burden of 'German Sorrow.'

This, then, is the subject of the tale, so far as it can be called a tale at all, and not an artistically disguised Pan-Germanic Bartsch himself designates it as 'a landscape pamphlet. romance,' a sub-title which it fully deserves, since, in the art of word-painting of a rather highly-coloured type, I doubt whether this author has a living rival. Of this more anon. Meanwhile, let us get to the story itself, or rather to the want of it, for, in the ordinary sense of the word, there is next to none to tell. Almost everything that happens, happens within the soul of Erasmus Georg Botzenhardt, a German of the dreamy, in contradistinction to the practical, type, and whose mental and moral development we follow, step by step, from his fifth to past his fortieth year. Long before he has left school, and at an age when normally-constituted boys are busy with games and mischief, his soul is groaning under the weight of the 'German Sorrow,' and his mind sketching vague plans as to how to relieve Here is an example :-

As children are apt to think in pictures . . . thus the troops of wild birds heading for the South with yearning cries, the evening sun . . . became for the boy symbols which he revered, almost superstitiously. . . . There began to burn in his soul unconquerable hunger for that land of vines, where he believed that he would feel nearer to Eternity and to its secrets. Everything drew him South. German, the most blessed and most unblessed, of all yearnings had awakened in him with strange force.

Nothing that is said of the German nation is more wonderful than these two forces: the boundless, consuming need to reach God, and that wild, suicidal yearning which draws it towards the blue fire of the South.

Which blue fire, please remember, is in point of fact a blue water, by name 'Adriatic.' 'Suicidal' may sound extreme; yet

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Granted such preoccupations in the boy, it is no wonder that the doings of the man should suffer considerably from 'the pale cast of thought.' To achieve something 'big' is the dream of his life; but in considering how to set about it he wastes half of that same life. The line between the man of ideas and the man of action is finely drawn in the following dialogue. Georg -who is about twelve at the time-has repeated to a schoolfellow a saying that has impressed him:-

'Blessed are those who seek great things!'

The small Thoss flung his short, sturdy legs apart, and stood still 'Yes, that is it,' he cried, raising his forefinger .

'And?' asked Georg.

'Our teacher says that everyone should have a motto. This shall be mine: "Blessed are those who will great things."

'Who seek them,' corrected Georg.

'I prefer the will,' decided the resolute Thoss. 'You can keep to the seek, if you like.'

And, truly, the two versions fitted the two youngsters very well.

Side by side with his adventures of the soul Georg, inevitably, has adventures of the heart—a whole series of them. First, an idyll with a Slav peasant girl, exquisitely described; next a romantic attachment to a wonderful piece of both physical and mental delicacy, called Babette-whom he knows to be dying of consumption; then a mild affection for the excellent but unexciting woman who becomes his wife; finally, a wild passion for a mere child, twenty-five years his junior, who impulsively makes him a present of her heart. It is only after a hard struggle, and, as it were, by the skin of his teeth, that he saves himself from accepting it. But all these occurrences remain but accessory circumstances to the guiding idea of his life, and scarcely distract his attention from the problem of how to alleviate the 'German Sorrow.' Until he approaches middle age he has found no better way than the playing of German music—being German in this, too, that he is a born musician. The record of his youth is practically that of a wandering fiddler, flitting about the threatened province, and using his violin bow as one might use a match wherewith to kindle the flame of national feeling. is close upon forty when an unlooked-for heritage puts him in the position of acquiring a piece of Styrian ground, and his unquiet spirit finds rest at last in the narrow but concrete task of Germanising at least one spot of the disputed land.

A crowd of characters accompany the hero upon his they road; but—in accordance with the usual Bartsch method—they are not so much accordance with the usual Bartsch method. are not so much individuals, as mouth-pieces of the author.

They bear different They bear different names, belong to different sexes, and even CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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possess different qualities, but all, or nearly all, speak with the tongue of Rudolf Hans Bartsch. With the exception of the few Slavs who do no more than flit across the pages, they are all as profoundly convinced as he is himself of the superiority of the German race to all others. Not that Bartsch is naïve enough to say so plainly. Indeed, he is too much of an artist not to throw a few shadows into the picture, and even to let a few stray rays of light rest upon his antagonists. Thus, among a wilderness of chauvinistic Slav priests, he places one solitary example of tolerance and evangelical charity. He admits that the Slav peasants possess both minds and hearts, and really would be all right, if only they would not listen to anti-German agitators. In one passage he goes so far as to express his belief that even among educated Slavs some decent men may be found. But these concessions are so obviously made for the sake of being able to say 'See how impartial we are!' that they alter nothing about the trend of the book. In the choice of passages to illustrate this there is a veritable embarras de richesses, but the following must serve:

'Reconquest!' [cried Georg]. 'What sort of a reconquest is this, compared to the German invasion of a thousand years back? The German came with the Bible and the book of Nibelungen in his hand; with song, fiddle, harp, and hero's tale. But he also cleared forests, dried swamps, built castles and churches, fortified towns, and brought with him a great breath of relief, a higher existence—as a god might do! Like the Archangel Michael, who soared down from the skies to kill the dragon, he conquered this land. But this nation crawls upon us out of the depth of venomous envy, and strikes from below into our entrails! 'etc., etc.

And again, this passage of a speech made to German hearers:

'Out of the wealth of the German soul let us bestow gifts upon our antagonists, and continue to bestow until they grow up to become our brothers. Let us open to them the wonders of our language, of our culture, so that the souls of their children, flowering richly and reconciled, should one day stand up in testimony against their fathers, who would have destroyed what is German. For each sorrow, for each injury and each shame which they inflict upon us we will answer with a German school; shall we not?'

This remains the supreme offence of the Slav: the rejection of German culture, and the preposterous ambition to develop his own. Now, although I do not think that any sane and unbiassed person has ever dreamt of underrating German culture, it may perhaps be permitted to doubt whether this is the right way to set about spreading it. Certainly it is not to this method that the English language owes its world-supremacy. Can it be an

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insult to the German tongue to suggest that it can safely be trusted to take care of itself? In their doings the Styrian Germans—as well as Bartsch himself—seem to have calculated without one deep-rooted quality of human nature: the spirit of contradiction. If the German school were not so persistently crammed down the Slav throat, it is more than likely that, by this time, its manifold advantages would have done their own work. In German ears the unbroken panegyric sounds sweetly, no doubt; but we others, while reading on page after page about 'the German soul,' 'the German heart,' 'the German mind,' as well as of countless 'dear German faces,' and 'dear German eyes,' and 'dear German lips,' are apt to get somewhat restive, and to wonder whether the 'dear German arms and legs, and fingers and toes,' are not coming next.

What makes the book significant is that it is written, not by a German, but an Austrian subject. There comes a moment in the tale when Georg, disheartened by his failures and unable any longer to look on at the 'sufferings' of his people, resolves to

emigrate to his 'real home.'

'Yes, endless longing-home-sickness for the German

Empire overcame him!'

He is at Salzburg when this happens; and on the top of a high tower, while watching the cloud-banks to the South, he makes the following reflections:

'So lie darkness, battle, and heavy clouds over Austrian minds, while over there, in the holy German Empire, the heavens glow like the golden ground of a royal, Byzantine picture! There is the sun—there the great light flames and shines—there all is fair, free, and clear! Oh, thou home of my soul, thou land of my great poets, thou mighty empire—to thee do I belong!'

Next day Georg makes a sort of 'general repetition' of his emigration, by taking a walk to the Bavarian frontier, so as to get at least 'a mouthful of German air,' and press his foot upon the 'holy' soil. On the Austrian side he sees many things which displease him—even the trees, which are rare and scraggy. From time to time a cleanly looking village. 'Aha!' he comments, 'the German neighbourhood.' When crossing the bridge which marks the frontier he steps as people do in church. He would like best of all to throw himself on the ground and kiss it, but is deterred from this by the presence of a customs official sitting behind the blue-and-white barrier. On the other side of that magic line the world seems transformed. The very road appears to Georg about twice as broad as Austrian roads, and the trees which shade it twice as tall and luxuriant as Austrian trees.

To the young man it seemed as though only in a court-carriage with six nodding horses would it be suitable to drive into the land of might and greatness. Tears started to his eyes.

'Germany! Germany! My Empire!'

Thus writes—or rather, rhapsodises—a man who, until lately, still wore the Austrian uniform-a fact which, especially when viewed in the light of the enormous success achieved by the book. furnishes food for reflection.

In the event Georg recovers from his rapture sufficiently to recognise his duty towards his co-nationalists in the South, and therefore to renounce the 'home of his soul' and that land of freedom in which police regulations thrive so luxuriantly. It is some time after this that he settles in Styria, and sets about paying a little bit of the way which is to lead to the Adriatic.

It seems hardly fair to close this notice without saying more of the wonderful word-pictures already mentioned, and which shine like gorgeously flaming, or tenderly tinted, landscapes through all of this author's novels-Styrian landscapes, by preference. Bartsch is-to express it un-academically-'cracked upon' Styria. This first became apparent in his Zwölf aus der Steiermark (Twelve Men from Styria), but Das Deutsche Leid beats it in this respect. According to Bartsch, there is no spot on earth worth living on-not even the holy German Empire, apparently-but Southern Styria.

'Ah!' [cries his mouthpiece Georg, in one of his ecstasies], 'if all the sick hearts in the German Empire knew how we live here-here in the Styrian infinity! In troops they would come and settle in this world, blessed above all belief, teeming with restfulness, a fulfilment above fulfilments!'

And further on:

'Come all ye who are weary of the toils of the market-place, the noise of the cities, the vanity of society, and enter into the wonderful rest of these hills! Ye Germans, do not let this paradise of peace, this dreamland of home-sick hearts, this sunny, southern Styria be torn from you!'

All through the book the southern vineyards lie as a glowing background, the miniature windmills rattle in the breeze, scaring the birds from the ripening grapes, the earth smells good, while the winter storms roar almost audibly, and the summer sun shines well-nigh palpably upon a world of which not a charm escapes this seer's eyes.

Although the subject is not much in fashion nowadays, I should like to mention that the morals of this novel belong to what has sometimes been defined as 'farmyard morals.' The couples pair and unpair again as light-heartedly as the birds of the air; conjugal fidelity is, at best, indulgently smiled at, and

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its opposite treated as an excellent joke. It is true that the hero himself ends by conquering an illegal passion; but that is only because all along he has been too busy with his soul to have much attention over for less-exalted things.

But for once farmyard morals have their uses, since they are responsible for a regular treat in the way of character-drawing. For the sake of Willibald Himmelmayer alone it is worth while swallowing the Germanic raptures. In the person of this delightfully irresponsible, perversely fascinating musical genius and roué the system of morals aforenamed finds its concentrated expression. It is thus that Bartsch first introduces him:

For the taste of light-hearted people he was the very distillation of an artist; his existence and his life were, in a sort of way, the ether-like essence of well-being. It was like the foam of champagne; for no earthly weight could trouble this divine profligate.

Besides a passion for music, Himmelmayer has a passion for Nature, with whom he lives on a footing of personal intimacy, into which he is eagerly ready to introduce others. Hence his influence over Georg Botzenhardt.

'Master, dear Master' [the young man pleads in one of his moments of love-sickness]; 'lead me into your life, and let me forget the girl who consumes my blood like poison; weave your magic moods around me!'

Upon which Himmelmayer says: 'Hah! then let us get into the country!' and carries him off to a hill-top.

So once more they started off through the autumnal world on the search for impressions—one of those pilgrimages in which nothings are of all-importance. The mirror-like qualities of a black forest-pool were enough cause for rejoicing, as was also the turquoise blue of the heavens which, from another point of view, the small bit of water reflected. . . The world seemed as deserted, as though nothing more than asters, turnips, and shreds of mist remained upon the scrap-heap of the year; but, with a word of joy and gratitude, the light-hearted musician enriched impoverished Nature. He said, while pointing to the mill in the valley: 'Listen, Georg, to the merry, digestive work! 'Into the sack! Into the sack!' That is the great return into ourselves—the internal reception of all God's gifts.'

Presently Himmelmayer whispers: 'Hark!' for, long before his companion, he has noted the rising of the wind.

And as though soft, innumerable drums were beating, the patter of the horse-chestnuts began. The many, many loosened fruits bounded against the earth, and rolled deliciously for nine, ten, eleven seconds. The trees still stood expectant, before settling back into calm; only here and there, like the titter of some tender reminiscence, a single chestnut dropped hard earth. And there was again nothing but suggestion, and the deeply transparent, tepid, splendidly shining night.

'Heavens-that was beautiful!' said Georg in a whisper.

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Himmelmayer, to whom such trifles of Nature were just as important and rejoiceful as to the youngster, purred like a satisfied tom-cat.

'Ah, yes, der liebe Gott and I often make these little arrangements. This one was quite successful, was it not?'

Himmelmayer is so completely devoid of moral sense that scrupulous persons can only enjoy his society with an uneasy conscience, and yet cannot quite escape enjoying it. He who feels nothing but shocked when the frivolous musician sets off on a foot-tour, in the company of Georg, in order to visit a whole collection of old sweethearts-he has one in about every second village-must indeed be inexorable; and any person who maintains his gravity while the incorrigible Don Juan is building up artistic dams in the cart-ruts in order to shake awake the sleepers on the top of hay-wagons, and thus enable him to pass in review the rustic beauties of the neighbourhood, must be of resisting constitution.

But he is not a Don Juan alone. The scene in which, having at last become conscious of vanished youth, he first sinks into despondency, then, rising above it, takes refuge at the piano, in order to give musical expression to the emotions convulsing him, lends a touch of grandeur to this extravagant figure.

It was splendid; and Himmelmayer smiled, entranced, through the roll and the purling of the harmonies. He was delivered. The approach of age was to be the title of his work; a wonderful symphony which gave tongue to his lamentations, his terrors, his accusations against God, his useless prayers, out of which, with growing triumph the solution rose higher and higher: Work-clear and serene work!

Needless to say that anybody called Himmelmayer must be as German as his surroundings; yet his ways are refreshingly un-German. 'Politics and the national question give me pains in my inside,' he once remarks to Georg. Not that he is indifferent to his own people, but that he is, in first line, an artist. He wears his nationality gaily, 'like a nosegay in his buttonhole.'

While making our way through The German Sorrow, we were sometimes tempted to wish that others among the characters would wear it in this fashion, which, on the whole, seems preferable to wielding it as a sledge-hammer.

To those politicians upon whose programme the severance between Austria and German interests figures conspicuously, German Sorrow will not prove very comforting reading.

Among other novels of the 'national' category there are several which would deserve a fuller notice than I am here able to give them. Lieb Vaterland, for instance, by Rudolf Stratz-

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another significant title. The moral and upshot of this excellently written story is that there is no happiness in the world compared to that of being born a German—and in particular a Prussian subject, as Margarethe von Teufern, the daughter of a retired General, learns by bitter experience. Partly out of ambition, and partly out of pique towards Lieutenant Lünemann, to whom she has been rather hopelessly engaged for two years, she marries Karl Feddersen, an international millionaire, who, German by origin, is naturalised in Russia and domiciled at Paris. Lünemann has been offered a business post, which would enable him to marry his 'Grete' on the spot; but hearing that he will be expected to act against the interests of German financiers, refuses on patriotic grounds; whereupon 'Grete,' whose ideas are broader, gives him back his ring and accepts Feddersen. Her family are both dazzled and horrified by her choice. Much good advice is given. 'Our wishes accompany you, dearest Grete,' says her uncle at the betrothal supper. May you cultivate a piece of Germany on the banks of the Seine-spread a genuine Prussian spirit in the strange land!'

To which Grete very rationally remarks:

'What do you expect of me? After all, I can't run about

Paris with a black-and-white-and-red flag in my hand!'

When questioned as to what he considers to be his nationality, Feddersen answers: 'Perhaps several. The barriers between nations are daily falling.'

They look at him uncomfortably. A man nationality! Worse still, a man with a German name, of German origin, and who has voluntarily renounced this supreme privilege!

'Remain German!' is the burden of the warning which the

old General gives his daughter on the way.

In point of fact Grete never has been very German, but she

gradually becomes it—in Paris, of all places in the world.

This takes time, of course. She first has to pass through the inevitable intoxication of money; and she even feels rather shocked at the extremely tactless reminiscences of '71 which the General sees fit to air on the occasion of his first visit to his daughter. Gradually she develops wants which money cannot supply. She asks her husband for sympathy and understanding, and he gives her cheques. She sings and reads to him, and he either falls asleep or else does sums in his head. cannot imagine what ails her. Are not the wives of his brothers and co-partners quite satisfied with exactly this sort of life? Yes, but she has far deeper needs—needs of the soul; and this again because she is a German, whereas the others are only

American and Russian.

It is on the occasion of her child's christening, and in answer

to a speech made by a fanatic Alsatian, that she rediscovers her

'I am the daughter of a Prussian General!' she proclaims; 'I forbid you to preach the revanche against my Fatherlandhere, at my table!' Then, throwing back her head, and with challenging eyes: 'Try it if you will! March to the Rhine!

You will soon come back with bleeding heads!'

To cut a long story short, the marriage is a failure; and, her boy being dead (nursed to death by French methods, in contradistinction to German ones, which would, of course, have saved him), her husband, moreover, having furnished her with ample grounds for a divorce, Grete flies back to her own country, a prodigal daughter, beating her breast and loudly proclaiming that she has sinned against Heaven and against her Fatherland. The closing tableau shows the repentant Grete in the arms of the faithful Lünemann, and standing in the shadow of a gigantic Bismarck monument which, 'built of massive stone, as though for eternity, stands sentinel at the gates of the Empire' (the scene being Hamburg).

The evening light lay around his mighty head. His eyes looked down upon the couple at his feet and, further on, towards final distances-blessing the German land.

It is safe to assert that, among those 'final distances' of Bismarckian dreams, there figures that same blue 'Adria' of

which we have heard so much to-day.

I have said that the story is excellently written, and this not only because German chauvinism is here not paired with German heaviness, but also because the people are marvellously alive and the atmosphere convincingly real. Rarely has the milieu of financial Paris been better suggested, nor the all-devouring, all-paralysing effect of money been more vividly brought home. 'I am always afraid of mistaking him for his own money-safe in the corner,' says the General of his son-in-law; 'there is a confounded likeness between the two.' But although in time the human money-safe develops into something like a brute, one cannot quite suppress a sort of sneaking sympathy with the much-worried man of business, upon whom the 'needs of the soul' of his very superior German wife press so persistently.

I should have liked to do more than merely name Walter Bloem's Das Eiserne Jahr (The Iron Year), whose trenchantly vivid battle-pieces have been compared, not unjustly, to the painted ones of Vereschtschagin, but that a story of a very different type seems to call for more attention.

It is a woman's voice that speaks this time, and, in speaking, brings something like a discord into the chorus of glorification

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Under the curious title of Nach dem Dritten Kinde (After the Third Child), Helene von Mühlau brings no less than an accusation against the Fatherland. 'From the diary of an officer's wife,' runs the sub-title; and it is behind the scenes of German military life that we are invited to throw a glance. It shows us a different picture indeed from its glittering front. 'brilliant misery,' to which the uniform is so often but a mask, has, in Helene von Mühlau, found a new chronicler.

This is essentially a woman's story, and as poignant as only a woman's story can be.

Erich and Rose have married with the minimum of fortune demanded by the German Government. His subaltern pay barely suffices for daily needs, and leaves nothing over for the indispensable 'appearances.' The man himself is something of an egoist; but the record of Rose's married life is that of one of those small, daily martyrdoms which are reserved for women alone. Three children arrive in rapid succession-all girls. When for the fourth time she sees motherhood approaching, the unfortunate Rose, goaded by the half-insane dread of the announcement to be made to her husband, allows herself-without his knowledge—to be tempted to the commission of a criminal act. Blackmailed for months by a ruffian who has scented the secret, she finally sees herself forced to a confession, under the first impression of which Erich orders her from the house. In the end he comes to his senses, and the letter in which he sues for his wife's forgiveness is worth quoting in part. For its better understanding it must be explained that, after having, for years, vainly striven to attain either an appointment in the colonies or a civilian post at home, Erich has at last made up his mind to accept an American offer:

'The longer and the deeper I reflect upon all that you have done, the more unbounded does my gratitude to you become, and at the same time my anger against—how shall I say it? . . . against our Fatherland, which does not give us bread for ourselves and for our three children.

It has cost me a hard struggle before I said to myself: "In Germany and in German colonies we go to meet our ruin!"

I wanted to believe in my Fatherland, Rose—I wanted to remain

German! But it is an impossibility! If nothing else would have helped to persuade me, that which you have done—which you believed yourself bound to do—would have dispersed my last doubts. . . . Is it not terrible that the wife of a Prussian officer should be driven to such a step, should be forced to seek relief from

material want in such a fashion? Our protectorates do not offer the required field. The population which in the best case they could accommodate would be supplemented at home within a few weeks. within a few weeks.

And thus a man, who, like me, has wife and children to support is virtually reduced to look for a living elsewhere. Here in Germany an

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officer who, pressed by necessity, wishes to change his profession, meets only distrust and closed doors. . . .

That goal which, within our Fatherland, we strove for in vain, we hope to reach out there, and to secure for our children a future free of that want which could not have failed to be their lot in Germany.'

As the sting of the wasp lies in its tail, so the point of the book lies in this concluding letter, and the point of the letter, again, is clearly the burning need of more colonies—and, consequently, of more ships—though these are not so much as mentioned.

So, after all, this woman's story ends with a very man-like argument.

I have space left only for a single specimen of another sort of novel, a sort in which the national trumpet is not blown, and occupied with a theme which stands far above nationalities. Die Beiden Hänse—for which the English equivalent might be The Two Jacks—reads like the final conclusion of one whose outlook has grown wider, whose views have mellowed with the climbing of the steps of life. The disciples of Ernst Haeckl and Co. will perhaps retort that it is not Peter Rosegger's views that have mellowed, but his brain that has softened. Indeed, it is not clear what else they could say. This is a point the settling of which can safely be left to the reader.

Not that this can be called a controversial novel. Never is there any attempt at reconciling Revelaare ignored. tion and Science. Indeed, I can fancy readers of the superficial sort getting half through Die Beiden Hänse before they discover that they are not reading a panegyric of Free-thought, joined to the inevitable attack upon the Catholic Church. More attentive or more acute people will have had their doubts from the first. The very virulence of the speeches made by a certain learned professor will have aroused their suspicions. The real inveterate enemies of religion are apt to be more subtle than that. Presently upon even the superficial reader it will have begun to dawn that the subtlety, this time, is all on the other side. To the plentiful abuse poured upon religion by the majority of the characters, no refutation is made. The one person who might have been expected to 'answer back' never attempts to defend his theories, but simply lives them, with the result that the reader lays down the book, impressed, for the moment at least, by the debacle of materialism at the hands of simpleminded faith.

The story itself is enthralling beyond the average.

The two heroes of the tale are two youths whom an identity of name—both answering to that of Johann Schmied—has turned first to antagonists, and then into fast friends. Hans is short

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for Johann; thenceforward they become known as 'Die beiden Hänse.'

Hans the elder is tall, supple, light-hearted to the verge of flippancy; Hans the younger, short, round-faced, cheerful, though the reverse of talkative. At the opening of the story both have just terminated their 'secondary' studies. The moment for choosing a profession has come. A fateful discus. sion upon this point takes place in an Alpine hay-loft-for our heroes are celebrating their exit from school by a mountain tour. and are held prisoners by a premature snow-storm, in the company of a mysterious elderly tourist, who presently discloses himself as Professor Weisspandtner, one of the lights of the medical world. Questioned by the friendly old gentleman as to their choice of profession, Big Hans replies that there is no hurry about that—he must first take a look round; while Little Hans stolidly announces that he means to become a priest. Upon the Professor the word has the proverbial effect of the red rag upon the bull. He lets loose a harangue, of which the following is a fragment:

'Every profession can bear the light of truth better than that of the priest. If he is true as man and thinker, he becomes a scandal to so-called pious souls, and the Church shakes him off. You, my young friends, have looked into the life of the mind. . . . Science has taught you the hollowness of Religion and the coming triumph of Truth. And now you would go back into the narrow, dark cell, will have to tell others what you do not know yourselves-assure them of things which you do not believecannot believe, since no one can tear out his own brain! Become a priest, indeed! Have you found no friend to tell you what that means?'

To which Big Hans makes the flippant retort:-

'To believe or not to believe, that wouldn't trouble me; all I want is a chicken in my cooking-pot.'

'Wretch!' laughed Little Hans, who took this for a joke.

The Professor goes on to extol his ideal of Truth:

'What our senses cannot prove has no existence . . . the recognition of this fact is what we call Truth—the real Truth, you understand—not the imaginary Truth of the rhapsodist.'

Little Hans here asked:

'Why is so great a difference made between real and imaginary truth' not the imaginary truth' Is not the imaginary truth real too—firstly because it is, and secondly because it has recorded. because it has results?'

'Dear me, how clever Hanserl has become!' called out the elder student.
'Listen to me' cold the live

'Listen to me,' said the little one, growing vivacious beyond his habit; nong all my schoolfollows. The description of the second second yet you 'among all my schoolfellows I had the least pocket-money, and yet you called me "Lucky Have." called me "Lucky Hans." That was because I imagined myself in possession of all the good things. sion of all the good things which the others could buy, and imagined them

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much more beautiful than they really were. Thus I always was "Lucky How, then, can something that is not real have such great Hans." results?'

In reply the Professor kindly enlightens him regarding the influence of digestion upon imagination, and explains further that the only Science which in his eyes deserves the name of such is the study of the human body. The words 'good' and 'bad'so he teaches—express only different chemical consistencies of the blood; and the stomach is the workshop of all action, whether mental or physical. 'The world's history, gentlemen, is brewed in the stomach.'

In this conversation the key-note of the book is struck: the struggle between the two sorts of truth—the material and the ideal.

As a result Big Hans resolves to study medicine, while Little Hans, smilingly unmoved by the Professor's arguments, remains true to his priestly vocation.

Next day their roads part-for good. Only three times in

life will they meet again.

Soon Hans the elder is sitting at the feet of Professor Weisspandtner, who has taken a fancy to the gay, light-hearted youth. Already the student has become a welcome guest in the Professor's family circle, and presently begins to wonder which of his two daughters he would like best to marry, only to come to the conclusion that he would rather not marry either. Malcha, the elder, the depressed possessor of a million in her own right, is anything but exhilarating company, while Evelana, the younger, is one of those brilliant, modern minxes who know everything about everything-in their own belief, anyway-and whose form of flirtation is scientific arguments with young men -the more indelicate the theme the better, of course-the defeated antagonist being comforted by generously dispensed favours. As she happens to be very pretty, the antagonists are naturally not so stupid as ever to remain victorious.

One day Hans meets her fluttering down the steps of the clinique, smiling, glowing, lively as an escaped butterfly. 'Comrade!' she cried, with arms spread wide, 'to-day you can have a kiss!' He accepts the offer, and she flutters on, wreathed

in girlish laughter.

The causes of her jubilation? The corpse of a dragoon whom, under the eyes of the medical authorities, she had just successfull' dissected; and the compliments showered on the performance.

But although neither of the sisters hits off Hans's taste, he is, nevertheless, resolved to make his choice between them, since of course a money-marriage is one of the conditions of that worldly success which, according to the Professor, is the one

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thing worth aiming at. A man's only duty is towards his own social existence—so he has been taught; such things as pity, love, self-sacrifice, are but degenerate excrescences of culture, and have got to be healed, if humanity is to remain robust.

Acting upon these principles, Hans selects the elder Fräulein Weisspandtner, as being the better-dowered of the two, and on the day on which he takes his degree is solemnly betrothed

to her.

But his heart is heavy in the midst of his triumph. In the Siebensterngasse, where he lodges, there is a certain brownhaired, gentle-eyed Lieserl, whose budding charms he has watched In unguarded moments he has indulged in dreams: but for matrimonial purposes she is, of course, not to be thought of; and for others—the mother is far too vigilant.

It is on the evening of his betrothal that Hans realises what Lieserl has become to him. From the festive board at which his double victory is being celebrated amid the popping of many corks, some power draws him irresistibly to the Siebensterngasse. His visit is ostensibly meant for Lieserl's sick mother; but his patient is asleep, and the unprotected girl, who knows nothing of his engagement, succumbs to his wine-heated passion.

In the next chapter we find the new-made doctor established in a handsome suite of apartments and waiting for his first patient. Here it is that, after a long pause, a sign of life reaches him from his old schoolfellow. Once only in the interval have the two namesakes met; it was during their first holidays, when Big Hans had noted, to his pain, that Little Hans remained as bigoted as ever, and attempts an appeal to his reason.

'Do you know, Hans,' he said regretfully, 'I am sorry for you? Do you not shudder at this bottomless hypocrisy? The stupid peasants know no better: but you have the studies hypocrists? no better; but you! you with your straightforward mind, your education! You can't want to go on playing this comedy?'

The little one made no reply, and they continued along the dark, deserted

road.

. Then he noticed that the theologian was softly sobbing. Instantly pity seized him. 'He is crying over his own misfortune!' he thought and continue the instantly pity seized him. thought, and continued with fresh vigour: 'Hans, see here, I know you in a and I know that Truth is recorded in a second of the and I know that Truth is your highest ideal. I have never caught you in a lie. lie. . . . Truth, too, is that which I mean to live for when I am my own master. Have your own master. Have you never reflected, my friend, how great a thing Truth is? And have you over called is? And have you ever asked yourself seriously what Truth is?

The little theologian was silent.

'Have you really never asked yourself?'

Thus they had walked on in the dark night. Now they reached a wood, ere, under high trees there are the same than the dark night. where, under high trees, there stood an object, high and narrow, barely visible. Little Hans stood still transfer and struck visible. Little Hans stood still. He took a box from his pocket and struck a match. In the circle of light a match. En the ruske perhigh Garukarksing Dollection, Hardwar May

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am my Truth the figure of the risen Christ, above it the roughly painted words: 'I am the Truth. He who believes in me shall be saved."

That much was seen; then the little flame went out, and it was darker

than before.

That had been three years ago. Now Hans holds in his hands an invitation of his friend to be present at his Primiz—the first Mass he is to read. Grimly Big Hans accepts-for the village in question is the very one at which he has engaged himself to hold a rationalist lecture. Lately he has joined a society called 'Progress,' whose chief task is to 'enlighten' the peasant mind. What an excellent opportunity for crossing arms with his retro-

gressive friend!

But matters take an unlooked-for turn. The thick-skulled peasants, always suspicious of the 'town-folk,' attempt to storm the lecture-room, which Hans, rather than preach to empty benches, has seen fit to fill with disciples of 'Progress,' telegraphically summoned; and only the personal interference of the new-made priest saves himself and his friends from extremely rough usage. It is thanks to Little Hans's influence that Big Hans is able to reel off his arguments to an audience to whom they are anything but new. This speech, so far as the noise outside let it be audible, started from Darwin's theory of descent, went on to natural selection, and ended with Nietzsche's 'Masterman.'

One single rustic hearer was present, who sat there as devoutly as though he were in church. A cow-herd. He told his family afterwards that the whole thing had not been so very sinful after all. The gentleman had spoken about the elections, and about cattle-breeding, but in so fine a language that you couldn't well get at the sense of it.

With rage in his heart, Hans returns to the capital and Also to Lieserl. But not for long. Her mother to his fiancée. is dead, which has removed the only obstacle to his sinful passion. One day a small packet is brought to him, and out of it fall the few trifling gifts he has given her-and a scrap of paper, bearing the words: 'Farewell. May God forgive you!-Elizabeth.'

She has discovered his engagement, and this is her reply to it. Hans hurries to the Siebensterngasse, and finds her flown.

Presently he is invited to take part in the dissection of a 'Donau Nixe,' the students' flippant nickname for a drowned woman. Hans has lately been dreaming of drowned women, and shudderingly questions his comrade:

'A murder?'

'No, evidently suicide.'

'Have you seen her?'

'Yes; she hasn't been bathing for long.'

'Have you seen her yourself?'

wood, barely struck niche

- 'Yes, I tell you!'
- 'Is she old?'
- 'Is she old?'
 'Since when do old women go into the water?' laughed the other. 'Unluckily it is always the young ones.'
 - 'Her height?' jerked out Hans.
 - 'Oh, about middle, I think.'
 - 'Any special marks?'
 - 'Oh, bother this shop talk! I noticed only the beautiful hair.'

 - 'Maybe. It was wet, you see, and therefore dark.'
 - 'Brown, then?'
- 'Oh, I have no objection to its being brown. You can look at her yourself, if she interests you.'

Hans, goaded as though by scorpions, goes back to the Sieben. sterngasse. Surely she will be back by this time. But the lodging is deserted. He drives at full gallop to the clinique. The anatomical section is locked up. And then begins the night -the long, terrible night, of which he spends a part pacing the shores of the Danube, and another part laughing at his own fears.

It is during this night that, amid pangs indescribable, his soul is born. The phases of the process are noted with the hand of a master.

Why should she be dead, after all? Why just she? Are not people daily fished out of the Danube? . . . He lay down in his clothes. . . Pity, compassion-stupid weaknesses. And pity with the dead, who do not suffer! It was good to remember that. Strange that his legs should tremble. It had grown quiet all around. And now he slumbered. Of fair days of childhood he dreamed-for a few minutes only. Then she stretched towards him. From the bier which stood close to the bed she stretched a stiff, clay-cold hand. Upon his head she laid it, and stroked over his hairwith a stiff, clay-cold hand. He started up. What was this? The beat of his heart echoed in his temples. . . . 'Does she want to mock me all my life long? Has she done it, perhaps, in order to torture me?—No, Elizabeth, if you had really loved me you would not have done this.—So she is lying in the anatomical chamber. And you, Hans Schmied, have gone far'thus he apostrophised himself; 'of others you demand everything, but you will neither air will neither give nor suffer anything. Never again was she to come to light, so that nothing should disturb your voluptuous life. breath of remorse should trouble the seducer, the betrayer who has destroyed her happiness, strangled her young life.'

When the grey morning looked in by the windows Hans had touched Now he the depths of self-contempt. Beyond this point a man cannot go. Now he waited only for the waited only for the truth; he must see her with his own eyes; and then ,

He goes to the clinique, but with a loaded revolver in his ket. pocket.

'We have kept the nymph for you,' said his colleague of yesterday, 'since you seem to take an interest in her.'

Hans searched with his eyes. There, on the table by the window, lay muffled object. He want of the window, lay muffled object. With convulsed fingers the muffled object. He went straight towards it. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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he took hold of the grey linen, to strip it from the shape beneath. 'Who lifts this veil shall see Truth!' A quick movement, and the body lay bare before him.

'Is it—is it this one?' he asked, panting.

'The one I told you of yesterday.'

Hans looked round the room and again at the body. The terrific strain relaxed. He fell upon a wooden chair, uttering a long-drawn sound. . . . The students exchanged startled glances. That is the way madmen laugh. They bent over him—then he raised his head, grinning with amazement, the eyes wide and empty, and spoke into the empty air: 'It is not she!'

After a short but sharp illness Hans recovers his health, but not his plan of life; that lies shattered at his feet. The theories, of course, are all right in themselves, but unfortunately he is not the man to put them into practice, his will being corroded by the canker of Pity. He breaks off his engagement and sets off in search of his lost mistress. He searches in town and country, he searches for years, but Lieserl has vanished beyond his ken. Sometimes, in moments of desolation, his spirit yearns towards his old schoolfellow, the only friend he has ever had. What has become of Little Hans? Big Hans scarcely knows. All that has reached him is a report of a conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities, and of the young priest's banishment to a so-called punitive post. An affair with a housekeeper, it is said: quite an ordinary occurrence.

Six years have passed when Hans finds himself once more climbing his native Alps, in the company of an eccentric Yankee, who doses himself with mountains as with medicine, but likes And now it is that, reachto have medical assistance at hand. ing a bleak, stony spot, where a wretched little wooden church stands among half-a-dozen hovels, Hans finds himself face to face both with his lost sweetheart and his lost friend. This mountain pilgrimage is Little Hans's exile, and Lieserl is the housekeeper who has been the cause of the banishment, while the fair-haired boy who gambols by her side is the doctor's own

abandoned son. Wild jealousy seizes upon him. Although, from his schoolfellow's own lips, he hears the story of how he had picked up the fainting woman, literally upon the high-road, and incurred disfavour by his refusal to turn her and her child out of doors; although in face of Little Hans's candid eyes—as candid as in their old school-days-and of his straightforward: 'Nothing wrong has happened—be sure of that!' suspicions droop, yet Big Hans feels too profoundly guilty to be able to believe in such innocence. His heart is torn between bitterness and pity; for Little Hans's face is neither so round nor so rosy as it used to be, and his husky voice tells the medical man that he is doomed, and that the icy blasts of this exposed spot are hastening the doom.

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When at last Hans gains speech with his old love, it is no gentle-eyed Lieserl who confronts him, but a stern-faced Elizabeth, with a hard line about her mouth and something like hate in her eyes. In answer to his passionate appeal he hears terrible truths. She will have none of this tardy atonement; nor will she, for his sake, desert the man who, without any claims of the flesh, has fulfilled towards their child those fatherly duties which he himself has so shamefully neglected—the man whom she reveres as a saint.

Then Elizabeth straightened herself. 'So you think that I will go away with you--now? That I will abandon the only man who has ever sacrificed himself for us-leave him alone—and ill? Anyone who could think that--' She could not get the hard word to cross her lips,

Hans turns away, cowed at last by her merciless hardness, and Elizabeth, having watched him out of sight, falls sobbing upon a stone.

Before night a snowstorm sweeps over the mountains, and the household anxiously await the return of the young priest, who is scouring the neighbourhood, in search of struggling wayfarers. He returns after dark, with his cloak frozen on to his jacket; and five days later Hans and Elizabeth are kneeling, one on each side of his bed. 'If only I had not to miss my service!' he moans; then looks from one to the other: 'Be sensible-because of the boy!'

Then softly he drew her hand on to his breast and then his. 'Stay Say a prayer. After all, to die'-he paused, struggling for breath, 'to die is also a service.'

That much could be heard. Then convulsively he drew the two hands closer, and breathed heavily, and breathed painfully, and breathed no more.

And when it was over, and Hans and Elizabeth awoke from their stupor, they found that upon his motionless breast, their two hands lay clasped.

I do not think that any reader of Die Beiden Hänse will consider that the name of Peter Rosegger, though old of sound, has cause to hide itself before the most brilliant of new names. In the midst of the desert of pessimism in which we wander nowadays, it is something to find an observer of life who does not despair of human nature.

DOROTHEA GERARD (MADAME LONGARD DE LONGGARDE).

Vienna.

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THE THEOLOGY OF MILTON

THE influence of Milton, through his writings in prose and poetry, upon Christian theological belief in England and in the Englishspeaking world is one of the strangest paradoxes in literary history. For he was almost the last person who might have been expected to control or direct the thought of Christians within, as well as without, the Church of England. He was estranged by wide differences of belief and practice from the great body of his Christian fellow-countrymen. He was neither a Churchman nor an Episcopalian. What were his views of Episcopal Government is only too well known from his treatise Of Prelatical Episcopacy, from his Reason of Church-government urged against Prelaty, and from his Animadversions upon the Remonstrants' Defence against Smectymnuus. It is true indeed, as this article will, I hope, show, that Milton was not always consistent in his theological or ecclesiastical position. But his treatise Of Christian Doctrine is sufficient evidence of the conclusions to which he was gradually led upon the main articles of the Christian Faith. He was not an orthodox Trinitarian in his doctrine relating either to the Second or to the Third Person of the Sacred Trinity. He was not a believer in the independent life of the soul apart from the body, or in the life of the soul at all between death and resurrection. In his estimate of matter he came at times perilously near to Pantheism. He decisively rejected infant baptism; he was opposed on principle to Liturgies and all set forms of prayer. He was an advocate of divorce, and in certain circumstances of polygamy. He was an anti-Sabbatarian, and at the last he was almost an alien from the rules and practices of Christianity. Toland says of him: 'In the latter part of his life he was not a professed member of any particular sect among Christians; he frequented none of their assemblies, nor made use of their peculiar rites in his family.' It is not altogether easy to define Milton's theological or ecclesiastical position; but he seems to have drifted surely, if slowly, away from orthodox or established Christianity into a Christian belief and habit of his Masson, speaking of his heterodoxy, says: 'His drift may have begun about 1643, when he changed his temporary 901 Vol. LXXI-No. 423

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Presbyterianism or semi-Presbyterianism in Church-government for Independency or Congregationalism, breaking off from the Presbyterians and associating himself rather with the freer Independent and miscellaneous sects in the interest of his special Divorce controversy.'1

Yet Milton, in spite of his theological errors or eccentricities, has by his writings produced a strong and lasting, if not altogether happy, effect upon the mind of English-speaking Christendom. It is he more than anyone else who is responsible for the literal acceptance of the early narratives in the Book of The story of the Garden of Eden is so lightly touched by the author of Genesis, and lends itself so easily to allegorical interpretation, that its literal accuracy was never a recognised part of the Christian Creed until after the Reformation, and, indeed, until after the publication of Paradise Lost. the Church such as Clement of Alexandria, and still more Origen in the East, or even Ambrose, Augustine, and to some extent Jerome, in the West, were content to look upon the early chapters of Genesis as embodying spiritual truth under the guise of allegory or poetry. But to Milton and to the reformed Christian bodies in England after him, not only the Fall of man in itself, but the incidents and accidents of the Fall, the garden, the serpent as the tempter, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and the apple as the fatal fruit of the tree, were actual prosaic verities. It is Milton too who has stamped the character of Satan with a certain moral dignity which finds no warrant in the Bible. Above all, it is he who has instilled into Christian hearts and minds the widely spread, if partly latent, Arian, or semi-Arian, conception of our Lord's Personality. Wherever Christians, or at least English Christians, in the last two or three centuries have consciously or unconsciously regarded the Second Person of the Trinity as a Being, however exalted in Himself, yet distinct from and inferior to the First Person, they have probably been influenced by the teaching of Milton in Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, if not in his more explicit treatise Of Christian Doctrine.

It is probable that no part of Milton's religious or theological teaching has achieved so little practical result in Christendom, or at least among orthodox Christians, as his theory of the rela-

tion between man and wife in Holy Matrimony.

He put forward his strange views not only in the treatise entitled The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, of which the first edition was published in 1643, but also in The Judgment of Martin Bucca commended Martin Bucer concerning Divorce, published in 1644, in Tetra-chordon Expecition chordon Expositions upon the Foure Chiefe Places in Scripture

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which treat of Marriage or Nullities of Marriage, and in Colasterion, a reply to a nameless answer against the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, published in 1644-5.

The principle of The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce is expressed in its full original title, The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce: Restor'd to the good of both Sexes, from the Bondage of Canon Law, and other Mistakes, to the true meaning of Scripture in the Law and Gospel compar'd. Wherin also are set down the bad consequences of abolishing or condemning of Sin, that which the Law of God allowes, and Christ abolisht not. The treatise was addressed 'to the Parlament of England with the Assembly '; and, curiously enough in view of its subject, it is the treatise which contains the memorable words 'Let not England forget her precedence of teaching the nations how to live.' Still more curious is a chronological fact connected with The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce. It seems from the date, as marked upon the first edition in the British Museum, that The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce was published in August 1643. But it was in May 1643 that Milton married his first wife, Mary Powell. Milton then was, and perhaps, owing to his strange lack of humour, it may be said that he could have been, the only person who ever apparently devoted his honeymoon to writing a treatise in favour of divorce.

A single extract from The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce will show what was his general line of argument. It lay in his contention that divorce was essential to human happiness; that it was expressly sanctioned in the Old Testament, and nowhere prohibited by Christ or His apostles in the New.

O perversnes! that the Law should be made more provident of peacemaking then the Gospell! that the Gospel should be put to beg a most necessary help of mercy from the Law, but must not have it: and that to grind in the mill of an undelighted and servil copulation, must be the only forc't work of a Christian mariage, oft times with such a yokefellow, from whom both love and peace, both nature and Religion mourns to be separated. I cannot therefore be so diffident, as not securely to conclude, that he who can receive nothing of the most important helps in mariage, being thereby disinabl'd to returne that duty which is his, with a cleare and hearty countenance; and thus continues to grieve whom he would not, and is no less griev'd, that man ought even for loves sake and peace to move Divorce upon good and liberall conditions to the divorc't. And it is a lesse breach of wedlock to part with wife and quiet consent betimes, then still to soile and profane that mystery of joy and union with a polluting sadnesse and perpetuall distemper; for it is not the outward continuing of marriage that keepes whole that cov'nant, but whosoever does most according to peace and love, whether in marriage or in divorce, he it is that breaks marriage least; it being so often written, that Love onely is the fullfilling of every Commandement. 2

² Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, ch. vi.

But Milton was favourable to polygamy as well as to divorce, and he was favourable to it on much the same grounds. In the chief or only passage of his writings where he argues for polygamous unions, the treatise Of Christian Doctrine, Chapter X., it is by the examples of the patriarchs and kings in the Old Testament, and by the absence of any direct sentence against polygamy in the New Testament, that he tries to justify a system so abhorrent not only to the moral law, but to the moral sentiment, of all Christian nations.

The early narratives of Genesis, however they may be interpreted, are characterised by a striking literary reserve. The Garden of Eden itself, the serpent, the tree of knowledge of good and evil, the relation of the first man to his wife, their temptation and their expulsion from the Garden, are all more or less veiled in the shadow of mystery. But Milton has painted the story of man's Fall and of the agents or instruments in his Fall with vivid and almost lurid colours.

Thus the tempter is represented not only as a serpent but as a serpent with all his attributes of form and nature in high relief. Milton describes him as follows:

So spake the Enemie of Mankind, enclos'd In Serpent, Inmate bad, and toward Eve Address'd his way, not with indented wave, Prone on the ground, as since, but on his reare, Circular base of rising folds, that tour'd Fould above fould a surging Maze, his Head Crested aloft, and Carbuncle his Eyes; With burnisht Neck of verdant Gold, erect Amidst his circling Spires, that on the grass Floted redundant: pleasing was his shape, And lovely, never since of Serpent kind Lovelier.³

Or again:

Oft he bowd

His turret Crest, and sleek enamel'd Neck, Fawning, and lick'd the ground whereon she trod. His gentle dumb expression turnd at length The Eye of Eve to mark his play; he glad Of her attention gaind, with Serpent Tongue Organic, or impulse of vocal Air, His fraudulent temptation thus began.

Similarly Milton paints the tree of knowledge of good and evil, so that it becomes almost visible to the spectator's eye. He says:

I chanc'd A goodly tree farr distant to behold Loaden with fruit of fairest colours mixt,

Paradise Lost, ix. 494-505.

^{*} Paradise Lost, ix. 524-531.

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Ruddie and Gold: I nearer drew to gaze;
When from the boughes a favourie odour blow'n,
Grateful to petite, more pleas'd my sense
Then smell of sweetest Fenel, or the Teats
Of Ewe or Goat dropping with Milk at Eevn,
Unsuck't of Lamb or Kid, that tend their play.
To satisfie the sharp desire I had
Of tasting those fair Apples, I resolv'd
Not to deferr; hunger and thirst at once
Powerful perswaders, quick'nd at the scent
Of that alluring fruit, urg'd me so keene.'

The belief, which has been so generally accepted in the Christian Church, that the forbidden fruit was the apple, is owing chiefly to Milton, if not to him alone.

It is not necessary to quote the famous lines in which the first parents of mankind are represented as driven out of Paradise; but the graphic literalness of the verses serves to make Paradise or the Garden of Eden itself a reality which, when once it has

been felt, is never forgotten.

They looking back, all th' Eastern side beheld
Of Paradise, so late their happie seat,
Wav'd over by that flaming Brand, the Gate
With dreadful Faces throng'd and fierie Armes:
Som natural tears they dropp'd, but wip'd them soon;
The World was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide:
They hand in hand with wandring steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitarie way.

The Christian world owes to Milton its conception of the Angelic Hosts, whether spirits of good or of evil, as ranged on the side of God or of His rebel enemy Satan. Let me cite his descriptions of Belial as typifying the supremely evil, and of Abdiel as typifying the supremely good, spirit:

On th' other side up rose
Belial, in act more graceful and humane;
A fairer person lost not Heav'n; he seemd
For dignity compos'd and high exploit:
But all was false and hollow; though his Tongue
Dropt Manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest Counsels: for his thoughts were low;
To vice industrious, but to Nobler deeds
Timorous and slothful.⁷

Or again:

So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found, Among the faithless, faithful only hee;

⁵ Paradise Lost, ix. 575-588.

⁶ Paradise Lost, xii. 641-649.

⁷ Paradise Lost, ii. 108-117.

Among innumerable false, unmov'd, Unshak'n, unseduc'd, unterrifi'd His Loyaltie he kept, his Love, his Zeale; Nor number, nor example with him wrought To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind Though single.⁸

But among the spirits of evil Satan himself stands preeminent. It is Milton's art which has invested the character of Satan with so striking a dignity that, in spite of his treason against the Almighty, he has commanded something of sympathy and even of respect from many Christians. It was remarked by Shakespeare, and after him by Sir John Suckling, that 'the Prince of Darkness is a gentleman.' But the Satan of Milton is more than a gentleman; he is a stern, indomitable, majestic figure. The reason or excuse for so telling a delineation of one who is the Prince of the Powers of Evil may perhaps be that Paradise Lost was originally intended not to be an epic, but a dramatic poem. It will be enough to cite the following passages descriptive of Satan's temper:

What though the field be lost?
All is not lost; the unconquerable Will,
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield:
And what is else not to be overcome?
That Glory never shall his wrath or might
Extort from me.

Or:

Seest thou you dreary Plain, forlorn and wilde, The seat of desolation, voyd of light, Save what the glimmering of these livid flames Casts pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend From off the tossing of these fiery waves, There rest, if any rest can harbour there, And reassembling our afflicted Powers, Consult how we may henceforth most offend Our Enemy, our own loss how repair, How overcome this dire Calamity, What reinforcement we may gain from Hope, If not what resolution from despare. 10

Or again:

Farewell happy Fields
Where Joy for ever dwells: Hail horrours, hail
Infernal world, and thou profoundest Hell
Receive thy new Possessor: One who brings
A mind not to be chang'd by Place or Time.
The mind is its own place, and in it self
Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n.

^{*} Paradise Lost, v. 896-903.

* Paradise Lost, i. 105-111.

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What matter where, if I be still the same, And what I should be, all but less then hee Whom Thunder hath made greater? Here at least We shall be free; th' Almighty hath not built Here for his envy, will not drive us hence: Here we may reign secure, and in my choyce To reign is worth ambition though in Hell: Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heav'n."

But the interest of Milton's theological creed as affecting his writings, especially Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, lies principally in his strong inclination to the Arian or semi-Arian conception of Our Lord's personality. It is not necessary to discuss the varying phases of the theology which owes its birth and its name to Arius, the presbyter of Alexandria. Gibbon, whose insight into the minutiæ of Christian doctrine was as remarkable as his indifference to them all, defines the Arian position in the following words:

The Son, by whom all things were made, had been begotten before all worlds, and the longest of the astronomical periods could be compared only as a fleeting moment to the extent of his duration; yet this duration is not infinite, and there had been a time which preceded the ineffable generation of the Logos. On this only-begotten Son the Almighty Father had transfused his ample spirit, and impressed the effulgence of his glory. Visible image of invisible perfection, he saw, at an immeasurable distance beneath his feet, the thrones of the brightest archangels; yet he shone only with a reflected light, and, like the sons of the Roman emperors who were invested with the titles of Cæsar or Augustus, he governed the universe in obedience to the will of his Father and Monarch.12

The Council of Nicaea A.D. 325, in the original form of the Creed now called Nicene, declared itself emphatically against But the battle of the diphthong, as it has been caustically termed, or the controversy between the watchwords Homoousion and Homoiousion, was rather declared than decided by the Council of Nicaea. Arianism continued to flourish, and, indeed, to triumph, afterwards. The contemporaneous Councils of Seleucia in the East and of Ariminum in the West, A.D. 359, brought the Eastern and the Western worlds alike under the predominant influence of the Arian Creed. It was after the Council of Ariminum that Jerome wrote his memorable sentence 'Ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est.' 13 The Council of Constantinople A.D. 381 dealt the death-blow to the prevalence of Arianism in the Roman Empire. But at a later date the invaders of the Empire still maintained the Arian The Goths, whose great leaders Alaric, Genseric, and Theodoric have written their names in letters of blood upon

¹¹ Paradise Lost, i. 249-263.

Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. iii. ch. xxi. p. 54.

¹³ Dialog. c. Lucifer, p. 191.

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Christian history, were Arians from the time of the famous Bishop Ulphilas, the translator of the Bible; the Lombards remained Arians up to the end of the sixth century, the reign of their Queen Theolinda; the Visi-Goths in Spain remained Arians until the reign of King Recared; nor was it until the Council of Toledo A.D. 589 that the clause 'Filioque,' or 'et a Filio,' was inserted in the Nicene Creed as a definite witness to the renunciation of Arianism in Spain.

Arianism is often set in opposition to Unitarianism; and, if the opposition, as it is generally stated, may be said to hold good, Milton was always rather an Arian than a Unitarian. To quote Masson's language about him:

In opposition to those who contend for the merely human nature of Christ he maintains the doctrine of the two natures of Christ, holding that no name short of The-Anthropos or God-Man adequately describes the Christ who walked and suffered on our earth.¹⁴

But Unitarianism, as represented in the writings of Faustus Socinus, who is generally regarded as the author of Unitarian theology, went far beyond the meagre Unitarianism which has been advocated by some, although not perhaps the most illustrious, of his followers. Faustus Socinus held, it is true, that Jesus Christ was not pre-existent before His birth into the world, and that He neither stood nor stands in an eternal divine relation to God as His Father. But Faustus Socinus held also that Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary by the operation of the Holy Spirit, that He came upon earth as God's commissioner to reveal God's law, that He exercised miraculous powers, that not only did He die, but on the third day after His death He rose from the grave, that His resurrection and His subsequent ascension were the attestations of His unique mission, that since His ascension He sits at God's right hand, and that He will one day return to the earth as the Judge of the living and the dead.

It is evident that such a Creed as this approximates to the Arian theology. History perhaps presents no stranger incident than the failure of Arianism after its brief and wide success. For the Arian conception of Christ's personality has commended itself to Christians of such high intellectuality and profound spirituality as Milton himself, Sir Isaac Newton, Locke and Semuel Clarke. Even John Stuart Mill, in the third of his posthumous essays, while decisively rejecting the divinity of Jesus Christ, could look with some appreciation upon an Arian or semi-Arian doctrine in regard to Christ's Personality.

There is little doubt that Milton, who in his early life was apparently an orthodox Christian, gradually lapsed into the

Life of John Milton, vol. vi. p. 832.
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acceptance of an Arian theology; and, indeed, towards the end of his life became almost a Unitarian after the model of Faustus Socinus. It is true that he always claimed the right of using as his own the language of the Trinitarian Creeds, but he interpreted the Creeds in an Arian and even in a Socinian sense. To quote one passage only; in his treatise Of True Religion, heresy, schism, toleration and what best means may be used against the growth of Popery, a treatise published so late in his life as A.D. 1673, the year before his death, he writes as follows:

The Arian and Socinian are charged to dispute against the Trinity; yet they affirm to believe the Father, Son and Holy Ghost according to Scripture and the Apostolic Creed. As for the terms Trinity, Tri-unity, Coessentiality, Tripersonality and the like, they reject them as scholastic notions not to be found in Scripture.

It is interesting to trace the development of Milton's theology. His Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity, although it was written in 1629, was first printed in 1645. In that ode he asserts the orthodox view of our Lord's divinity. The following passages are conclusive:

This is the Month, and this the happy morn Wherein the Son of Heav'ns eternal King, Of wedded Maid and Virgin Mother born, Our great Redemption from above did bring;

That glorious Form, that Light unsufferable, And that far-beaming blaze of Majesty, Wherewith he wont at Heav'ns high Councel-Table, To sit the midst of Trinal Unity, He laid aside; and here with us to be, Forsook the Courts of everlasting Day, And chose with us a darksom House of mortal Clay.

Or again:

Say Heav'nly Muse, shall not thy sacred vein Afford a Present to the Infant God?

Similarly the hymn within the ode contains such lines as these relating to the Infant Christ:

Nature in awe to him Had doff't her gawdy trim, With her great Master so to sympathise:

and

Confounded that her Maker's eyes Should look so near upon her foul deformities.

and

Our Babe to shew his Godhead true, Can in his swadling bands controul the damned crew.

It is evident that Milton remained in this orthodox state of mind as late as 1641, when he published his treatise Of Reforma-

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tion Touching Church Discipline in England, for that treatise contains the sublime prayer addressed to the Sacred Trinity: 'Thou therefore, that sittest in light and glory unapproachable, the parent of angels and men; next thee, I implore, Omnipotent King Redeemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting love, and thou the Third subsistence of divine infinitude, illumining Spirit, the joy and solace of created things, the one Tripersonal Godhead.'

Johnson must have been thinking of Milton's earlier writings in poetry and prose when he said of him in the Lives of the Poets that he appears not only 'to have had full conviction of the truth of Christianity and to have regarded the Holy Scriptures with the profoundest veneration,' but 'to have been untainted by an heretical peculiarity of opinion.'

Paradise Lost was published in 1667; Paradise Regained in 1671. In these two famous poems the development of Milton's

theological creed is easily traced.

In Paradise Lost he regards the Son not as co-equal or coeternal with the Father, but as a created Being, although created in an infinite past, upon whom the Father had conferred an unspeakable measure of His own divine glory. It is impossible to quote the many passages exhibiting this creed, but the following are enough to indicate what his view of our Lord's Personality then was:

Now had the Almighty Father from above, From the pure Empyrean where he sits High Thron'd above all highth, bent down his eye, His own works and their works at once to view: About him all the Sanctities of Heaven Stood thick as Starrs, and from his sight receiv'd Beatitude past utterance; on his right The radiant image of his Glory sat, His onely Son; 15

and again:

Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance fill'd All Heav'n and in the blessed Spirits elect Sense of new joy ineffable diffus'd:
Beyond compare the Son of God was seen Most glorious, in him all his Father shown Substantially express'd, and in his face Divine compassion visibly appeared,
Love without end, and without measure Grace. 16

So the Father addresses the Son in such language as this:

O Son, in whom my Soul hath chief delight, Son of my bosom, Son who art alone My word, my wisdom, and effectual might,

15 Paradise Lost, iii. 56.

Paradise Lost, iii. 135-142.

All hast thou spoken as my thoughts are, all As my Eternal purpose hath decreed: 17

Elsewhere He says:

Into Thee such Vertue and Grace Immense I have transfus'd, that all may know In Heav'n and Hell thy Power above compare, And this perverse Commotion governd thus, To manifest thee worthiest to be Heir Of all things, to be Heir and to be King By Sacred Unction, thy deserved right.¹⁵

With this address corresponds the descriptive passage:

To meet him all his Saints, who silent stood
Eye witnesses of his Almightie Acts,
With Jubilie advanc'd; and as they went
Shaded with branching Palme, each order bright,
Sung Triumph, and him sung Victorious King,
Son, Heire, and Lord, and him Dominion giv'n,
Worthiest to Reign: he celebrated rode
Triumphant through mid-heaven, into the Courts
And Temple of his mightie Father Thron'd
On high; who into Glorie him receav'd,
Where now he sits at the right hand of bliss.¹⁹

Even more clearly is the relation of the Son to the Father described in the words:

But whom send I to judge them? whom but thee Vicegerent Son, to thee I have transferr'd All Judgement, whether in Heav'n, or Earth, or Hell.²⁶

or immediately afterwards:

So spake the Father, and unfoulding bright Toward the right hand his Glorie, and the Son Blaz'd forth unclouded Deitie; he full Resplendent all his Father manifest Express'd. ²¹

The energy of the Son in creation is clearly defined in the following passage:

Thy self though great and glorious dost thou count, Or all Angelic Nature joind in one, Equal to him begotten Son, by whom As by his Word the mighty Father made All things, ev'n thee, and all the Spirits of Heav'n By him created in their bright degrees, Crownd them with Glory, and to their Glory nam'd Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Vertues, Powers, Essential Powers, nor by his Reign obscured.²²

¹⁷ Paradise Lost, iii. 168.

¹⁹ Paradise Lost, vi. 882-892.

¹⁸ Paradise Lost, vi. 703-709.

Paradise Lost, x. 55-57.
 Paradise Lost, v. 833-841.

²¹ Paradise Lost, x. 63-67. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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Yet there are passages in which the subordination of the Son to the Father is clearly stated. For instance:

> Effulgence of my Glorie, Son belov'd, Son in whose face invisible is beheld Visibly, what by Deitie I am, And in whose hand what by Decree I doe, Second Omnipotence.²³

The creation or birth of the Son Himself in time appears from the following passage, where the Father speaks:

Hear all ye Angels, Progenie of Light,
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Vertues, Powers,
Hear my Decree, which unrevok't shall stand.
This day I have begot whom I declare
My onely Son, and on this Holy Hill
Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
At my right hand; your Head I him appoint;
And by myself have sworn to him shall bow
All knees in Heav'n, and shall confess him Lord.²⁴

For here 'this day '—i.e. the day on which the Son was begotten—clearly follows the creation of the angelic hierarchy.

There is an approach to the Christology of Paradise Regained in the lines:

Because thou hast, though Thron'd in highest bliss Equal to God, and equally enjoying Godlike fruition, quitted all to save A World from utter loss, and hast been found By Merit more than Birthright Son of God, Found worthiest to be so by being Good, Far more than great or High; because in thee Love hath abounded more then Glory Abounds, Therefore thy Humiliation shall exalt With thee thy Manhood also to this Throne; Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt Reigne Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man, Anointed universal King; all Power I give thee, reign for ever, and assume Thy Merits; under thee as Head Supream Thrones, Princedoms, Powers, Dominions I reduce: All knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide In Heaven, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell. 25

For it seems that when Milton wrote Paradise Regained he conceived of the Son, not so much as a superhuman or divine Being, but as a man exalted by his human merit to a pre-eminent participation in the divine glory. The following passages prove the latest stage of Milton's Arianism:

On him baptiz'd Heaven open'd, and in likeness of a Dove

The Spirit descended, while the Fathers voice From Heav'n pronounced him his beloved Son. That heard the Adversary, who roving still About the world, at that assembly fam'd Would not be last, and with the voice divine Nigh Thunder-struck, th' exalted man, to whom Such high attest was giv'n, a while survey'd.²⁶

Who this is we must learn, for man he seems In all his lineaments, though in his face The glimpses of his Fathers glory shone.²⁷

So to the coast of Jordan he directs His easie steps: girded with snaky wiles Where he might likliest find this new-declar'd, This man of men, attested Son of God.²⁸

He now shall know I can produce a man Of female Seed, far abler to resist All his solicitations, and at length All his vast force, and drive him back to Hell, Winning by Conquest what the first man lost By fallacy surpriz'd.²⁹

That all the Angels and Ætherial Powers They now, and men hereafter may discern, From what consummate vertue I have chose This perfect Man, by merit call'd my Son, To earn Salvation for the Sons of men.⁵⁰

If he be Man by Mothers side at least, With more than humane gifts from Heav'n adorn'd, Perfections absolute, Graces divine, And amplitude of mind to greatest Deeds.³¹

Elsewhere the tempter says:

Opportunity I here have had
To try thee, sift thee, and confess have found thee
Proof against all temptation as a rock
Of Adamant, and as a Center, firm
To the utmost of meer man both wise and good
Not more; for Honours, Riches, Kingdoms, Glory
Have been before contemn'd, and may agen:
Therefore to know what more thou art then man,
Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heav'n,
Another method I must now begin.⁵²

It is evident that in *Paradise Regained* Milton does not shrink from speaking of our Lord as man. He can even go so far as to write:

To whom the Fiend now swoln with rage reply'd: Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born; For Son of God to me is yet in doubt.³³

²⁶ Paradise Regained, i. 29-37.

<sup>Paradise Regained, i. 119-122.
Paradise Regained, i. 163-167.</sup>

²² Paradise Regained, iv. 531-540.

²¹ Paradise Regained, i. 91-93.

²⁹ Paradise Regained, i. 150-155.

Paradise Regained, ii. 136-139.
Paradise Regained, iv. 499-501.

He does not indeed deny our Lord the title 'Son of God'; but it is part of his theology that that title does not imply essential divinity. He expresses himself as follows:

To whom the Fiend with fear abasht reply'd. Be not so sore offended, Son of God; Though Sons of God both Angels are and Men, If I to try whether in higher sort Then these thou bear'st that title, have propos'd What both from Men and Angels I receive. 34

Till at the Ford of Jordan whither all Flock'd to the Baptist, I among the rest, Though not to be Baptiz'd, by voice from Heaven Heard thee pronounc'd the Son of God belov'd. Henceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view And narrower Scrutiny, that I might learn In what degree or meaning thou art call'd The Son of God, which bears no single sense; The Son of God I also am, or was, And if I was, I am; relation stands; All men are Sons of God; yet thee I thought In some respect far higher so declar'd. 35

Theological opinion is naturally more or less veiled in poetry; and many readers of Paradise Lost and even of Paradise Regained have, like Johnson, failed to realise the Arianism of Milton's theological position. Whether Coleridge was or was not justified in his dictum that 'John Milton himself is in every line of Paradise Lost,' Milton's theology admittedly lies hidden there. But it is from his treatise Of Christian Doctrine that his actual creed is most plainly ascertainable. The history of that treatise is remarkable. Milton himself entrusted the MS. to his friend Daniel Skinner. After Milton's death, Skinner under compulsion surrendered the MS. to the Government. It lay hid in the State Paper Office until 1823, when it was discovered by Lemon. The treatise, of which the full Latin title is 'J Miltoni Angli de Doctrina Christiana libri duo posthumi,' was translated and edited in 1825 by Sumner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. It was the discovery of this treatise which gave occasion to Macaulay's celebrated essay on Milton.

The following passage represents perhaps the highest point of orthodoxy in Milton's conception of our Lord's Personality:

With regard to Christ's divine nature, the reader is referred to what was proved in a former chapter concerning the Son of God; and from whence it follows that he by whom all things were made both in heaven and earth, even the angels themselves, he who in the beginning was the Word, and God with God, and although not supreme, yet the first born of every

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Paradise Regained, iv. 195-200. St. Paradise Regained, iv. 510-521.

creature, must necessarily have existed previous to his incarnation, whatever subtleties may have been invented to evade this conclusion by those who contend for the merely human nature of Christ. 36

But elsewhere he reduces his conception of that Personality to Thus he writes: a lower level.

Certain however it is, whatever some of the moderns may allege to the contrary, that the Son existed in the beginning under the name of the Logos or Word, and was the first of the whole creation, by whom afterwards all other things were made both in heaven and earth.37

With this passage may be compared the following:

That the Son is God, is a truth which I am far from denying but they will in vain attempt to prove from this passage (1 Timothy, III. 19) that he is the supreme God and one with the Father.38

And again:

The Kingly function of Christ is that whereby being made King by God the Father, he governs and preserves, chiefly by an inward law and spiritual power, the Church which he has purchased for himself, and conquers and subdues its enemies.39

The pre-existence of the Son before His human birth, and His generation before all created things, are doctrines far from being equivalent to a belief in the Son's essential Divinity.

Milton expresses himself clearly in the words:

He (the Son) is called the own Son of God merely because he had no other Father besides God, whence he himself said that God was his Father, John 18. for to Adam God stood less in the relation to Father than of Creator, having only formed him from the dust of the earth, whereas he was properly the Father of the Son made of his own substance. it does not follow from hence that the Son is co-essential with the Father, for then the title of Son would be least of all applicable to him since he who is properly the Son is not coeval with the Father, much less the same numerical essence, otherwise the Father and the Son would be one person.40

And again:

Thus the Son was begotten of the Father in consequence of his decree, and therefore within the limits of time, for the decree itself must have been anterior to the execution of the decree, as is sufficiently clear from the insertion of the word 'to-day.' Nor can I discover on what passage of Scripture the assertors of the eternal generation of the Son ground their opinion. 41

Milton is fond of arguing from certain passages of the Bible that the ascription of the fire 'God' to the Son is far from connoting the Son's equality with the Father. Thus, in reply

³⁶ Christian Doctrine, ch. 14, Sumner's Translation. 32 Ibid. ch. 5. 87 Ibid. ch. 5. 38 Ibid. ch. 15. 41 1bid. ch. 5.

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to persons who argue that Christ is called God in the Bible, he says:

There would have been no occasion for the supporters of these opinions to have offered such violence to reason, nay even to such plain scriptural evidence, if they had only considered God's own words addressed to kings and princes, Psal. lxxxii. 6. 'I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High'; or those of Christ himself, John X. 35. 'if he called them Gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken. . .'; or those of St. Paul, 1 Cor. VIII. 5, 6. 'for though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or earth, (for there be gods many and lords many), but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things; 'etc., or lastly of St. Peter II. 1, 4. 'that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature,' which applies much more than the title of gods in the sense in which that title is applied to kings; though no one would conclude from this expression that the saints were co-essential with God.⁴²

Similarly he makes use of the following strange criticism upon a memorable passage of St. John's Gospel:

Another passage is the speech of Thomas, John XX. 28. 'My Lord and my God.' He must have an immoderate share of credulity who attempts to elicit a new confession of faith, unknown to the rest of the disciples, from this abrupt exclamation of the apostle, who invokes in his surprise not only Christ his own Lord, but the God of his ancestors, namely, God the Father;—as if he had said, Lord! what do I see—what do I hear—what do I handle with my hands? He whom Thomas is supposed to call God in this passage, had acknowledged respecting himself not long before, v. 17. 'I ascend unto my God and your God.' Now the God of God cannot be essentially one with him whose God he is.⁴³

Masson's estimate of Milton's theology in regard to the nature of Jesus Christ may be taken as a not unfair representation:

The Son of God, as he [Milton] concludes from an examination of all the relevant Scripture texts, did not exist from all eternity, is not coeval or co-essential or co-equal with the Father, but came into existence by the will of the Father to be the next being in His universe to Himself, the firstborn and best-beloved, the Logos or Word, through whom all creation should take its beginning. But though thus inferior to the supreme Godhead the Son is in a certain grand sense Divine. We are to believe that God imparted to His Son as much as He pleased of the Divine nature, nay of the Divine substance itself, care being taken not to confound the substance with the whole essence. 44

It may be worth while to quote one instance of Milton's teaching as regards the Third Person of the Trinity:

Lest however we should be altogether ignorant who or what the Holy Spirit is, although Scripture nowhere teaches us in express terms, it may

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⁴² Christian Doctrine, ch. 5.
43 Ibid. ch. 5, iv. p. 110.
44 Life of John Milton, vol. vi. p. 824.

be collected from the passages quoted above, that the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as he is a minister of God, and therefore a creature, was created or produced of the substance of God, not by a natural necessity but by the free-will of the agent, probably before the foundations of the world were laid, but later than the Son, and far inferior to him.

There is however sufficient reason for placing the name as well as the nature of the Son above that of the Holy Spirit in the discussion of topics relative to the Deity; inasmuch as the brightness of the glory of God, and the express image of his person, are said to have been impressed on the

one, and not on the other.45

Milton held, then, the superiority of the Son to all created beings, and among them to the Holy Spirit, but His inferiority to the Father. He held that the Son, being pre-existent, chose to become incarnate by a sublime act of self-humiliation, and, being incarnate, by his voluntary submission to the Divine Will in death as in life achieved the redemption of mankind. Between the Paradise Lost and the Paradise Regained the theological difference is that in the one Jesus Christ is regarded more as a transcendent Being who condescended to assume human nature, and in the other more as a human being exalted by a sublime and unique personal virtue to a special assimilation with the Godhead.

But whether the one view or the other be predominant in Milton's writings, they are alike, although in different degrees, unmistakable departures from the orthodox Creed. Yet that a poet and a thinker so deeply Christian in the whole mood and temper of his moral and spiritual nature as Milton should have lapsed into heresy, and in spite of his heresy should have been, and should still be, studied, admired, and in greater or less degree followed by the Christian world, is a lesson, which the Church may still lay to heart, in religious tolerance. The Creeds of the Church are serious and logical attempts of the human intellect to express Divine realities far surpassing the scope and range of that intellect itself. It may be that history is a warning against theological definitions. For every such definition, if it is closely scrutinised, reveals its inadequacy. Jesus Christ is called the Son of God; but human sonship implies both posteriority and inferiority; yet these ideas are both excluded from His Sonship. Arianism, even in the high form which distinguishes it from Unitarianism, falls sadly short indeed of the Christian orthodox Yet to repudiate it as wholly un-Christian would be to surrender the strength which Milton, and others like him, have afforded by their doctrine and example to the truth of Christianity. For amidst all varieties of faith and thought touching the nature of Christ's Personality, there remains the allegiance of devout and

45 Christian Doctrine, ch. 6.

holy souls to Him who alone has spoken upon earth in the accents of heaven, who stood and shall ever stand in a unique relation to His Father, and who reveals with incomparable authority, as the only Son of God, the spiritual and eternal verities by which alone the sin-stricken children of earth in their weakness and their sorrow are most powerfully enabled to live holy lives and to die peaceful deaths.

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INDIA AND THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON IMPERIAL TRADE

On the 16th of June 1911 the Premier of the Commonwealth of Australia submitted to the Imperial Conference—Mr. Asquith being in the chair—the following resolution of which his Government had given notice:

That this Conference, recognising the importance of promoting fuller development of commercial intercourse within the Empire, strongly urges that every effort should be made to bring about co-operation in commercial relations and matters of mutual interest.

That it is advisable, in the interests both of the United Kingdom and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, that efforts in favour of British manufactured goods and British shipping should be supported as far as practicable.

After the insults about 'banging and bolting the door' with which the British Radical Government had met the unanimous proposals of the Dominions for Imperial Preference in the Imperial Conference of 1907—after the incessant taunts of the British Radical party, particularly galling to the sensitive and high-minded statesmen of the Colonial democracies, as to the proposals of the Dominions being based, not on Imperial patriotism, but on their own interests regardless of British needs—and after the elaborate preparations and 'ground-baiting' of the Liberal Government, with the view of shunting this very question of Preference at the Conference—it argued no little courage and tenacity, as well as conspicuous magnanimity, on the part of the Australians that they should have dared to submit this Preferential resolution to the Conference at all.

But Mr. Fisher—able and conscientious patriot though he be—was no match for the wily politicians who were his adversaries. Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt affected to accept the resolution with unction—provided the Conference would accept 'a slight explanatory amendment'! And the 'slight explanatory amendment' explained away all reference to Preferential trading—explained away India and the Crown Colonies and Dependencies, that obviously came within the scope of the original resolution—and restricted the work of this much-vaunted and costly Commission to the investigation of such local details as are already known in the content of the property of the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as are already known in the content of the local details as a content of the local de

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to us in such books as the Canada Year-book and the Australian Year-book, retaining only the inestimable advantage that it may serve as an excuse for shunting the question of Imperial Preference for the next three years!

Mr. Harcourt was good enough to explain frankly, in the House of Commons on the 3rd of April, the artful pretence by which he and Mr. Asquith persuaded the Colonial Premiers at the Conference to assent to the stultification of their own wishes and opinions in this respect. He said:

The exclusion of the fiscal question from the terms of reference was agreed to by the whole Conference. It was quite clear from the discussion that it would be just as inconvenient and disagreeable to the Dominions to have a report of the Commission pressing Free Trade on them as it would be unpleasant to his Majesty's Government to have a report pressing a policy in which they, as a Government, did not believe.

This seems rather thin. Mr. Harcourt would have us believe that the Dominion Premiers were so devoted to the cause of Imperial Preference that they feared to expose it to the rude criticism of the proposed Royal Commission! I may admit, in passing, that they might have had some fair cause for such an absurd fear if they could have foreseen the gross and outrageous way in which Mr. Asquith's Government have 'loaded the dice' by packing this Commission with some of the most extreme Cobdenites they could find, as I shall presently show. But the Premiers could not have anticipated such a flagrant abuse of the Royal Prerogative; and, as a matter of fact, a careful study of the proceedings of the Conference impresses one with the idea that the Premiers, in politely yielding to their hosts on this one great and cardinal point, were really out-manœuvred by them. They all expressed themselves as entirely in agreement with the original Australian resolution—as undoubtedly they were, for the object at which it aimed was the very one which they had been deputed by their respective Dominions to press. And yet they were ultimately cajoled into passing the following, which was little better than a derisory shadow of the original resolution:

That his Majesty should be approached with a view to the appointment of a Royal Commission representing the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia. New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland, with a view of investigating and reporting upon the natural resources of each part of the Empire represented at this Conference, the development attained and attainable, and the facilities for production, manufacture, and distribution; the trade of each part with the others and with the outside world, the food and raw material requirements of each and the resources thereof available; to what extent, if any, the trade between each of the different parts has been affected by existing legislation in each, either beneficially or otherwise; and by what methods consistent with the existing fiscal policy of each part the trade of each gart without Dotlairs Guzukub Kingproductional textanded.

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It should be remembered, in fairness to those who agreed to this resolution, that most of the old stalwarts of the Conference including such men as Mr. Deakin, Sir Starr Jameson, Mr. Moor, Sir R. Bond, Sir William Lyne and Sir Thomas Smartt-were, for one reason or another, absent from the Conference of 1911, and their places were either vacant or occupied by new and comparatively inexperienced men; and in the case of some of those who remained, it may fairly be admitted that, while their opinions and convictions remained as firm as ever, their position in respect to the point on which they were in such direct conflict with the eager prepossessions and prejudices of their hosts was a peculiar and awkward one. I need not labour the point. It is obvious, for instance, that Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Brodeur, while retaining to the full their old and convinced belief in Imperial Preference, would honourably find some difficulty in offering to Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt the same uncompromising resistance as of old, seeing that they had received such strong support from the latter in their own alternative policy of American Reciprocity. Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt had thrown overboard their Free-Trade principles, and supported American Reciprocity with Canada, though bitterly opposing British Reciprocity-and this fact obviously made Sir Wilfrid Laurier's position a little awk-General Botha, too, and his colleagues from the South African Union, had never adopted the strong Colonial views of such men as Mr. Hofmeyr and Sir Starr Jameson, and were, very naturally and properly, reluctant to oppose openly the Radical Government at Westminster.

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that, at the moment of the Conference of 1911, Canada had not given that striking lead to the Empire that she gave three months later in tones that thrilled the whole world—nor could it have been confidently predicted at that moment that, within less than twelve months, a long and unbroken series of by-elections in the United Kingdom itself would prove that the cause of Imperial Preference now only awaits a General Election.

But however this may be, the terms of the resolution which the diplomatic skill of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt imposed on the Imperial Conference of 1911 have enabled the Government to set up a bogus Royal Commission on Imperial Trade, with a reference which not only excludes from its investigations the main point at issue, the question of Imperial Preference, but also, by an unobserved side-wind, altogether shuts out India, Ceylon, the West Indies, and the other Crown Colonies, Protectorates and Dependencies from the scope of its inquiries—thereby excluding very nearly half the trade between the United Kingdom and the British Possessions beyond the Seas, and much more than half the total trade of these Possessions Kangri Collection, Haridwar

For the Blue-book of Papers: Laid before the Conference (Cd. 5746-1) shows that the exports from the United Kingdom to the included Dominions are of an annual value of seventy-six millions sterling, while those to the excluded Possessions are of an annual value of seventy-one millions, and the imports to the United Kingdom in the former case are ninety-six millions sterling, and in the latter case seventy-four millions. The total external trade of India alone is of the annual value of 246 millions sterling—far greater than that of any other part of the Empire except the United Kingdom—the nearest approaches to it being 140 millions sterling for Canada and 114 millions for Australia. Croft, M.P., in his admirable little book The Path of Empire. has shown that India purchases from the Mother Country 13,000,000l. per annum more than any foreign country-more than Belgium and Holland and Denmark and Japan put together -and that in this way she gives far more employment to British working-men than any other country in the world.

And, further, the circumstances of India are such as to give infinitely greater promise of future expansion of industry and commerce than almost any other-land on the face of the globe. She possesses a rapidly increasing population, numbered last year at 315,000,000, who, taken in the aggregate, are more progressive in regard to their standards of civilisation and comfort than almost any, perhaps more sober and thrifty and docile, and certainly not less intelligent than any, with captains of industry and leaders of commerce of the greatest ability and enterprise. With an area greater than all Europe excluding Russia, she possesses every variety of climate and soil, and produces in vast abundance almost every commodity that is useful to man, either as food or as raw material for his industries. She has immense unworked stores of coal and iron and gold, and every other useful or precious mineral, with resources in forests and water-power almost unrivalled. She has vast areas of uncultivated fertile wheat-land, only awaiting the irrigation-canal and the plough; and other resources practically illimitable. Mr. Webb, C.I.E., the able chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, gives a good summary of some of these resources:

We bring before our mind's eye the 109,000 square miles—an area practically as large as Italy—devoted solely to the production of rice; then 50,000 square miles—equal to all England—producing millets (jowari and bajra); next the 31,000 square miles (say the whole of Portugal) under wheat; the 16,000 square miles (the equivalent of Denmark) given up to the cultivation of cotton; the 4700 square miles under jute; the 4400 square miles under sugar-cane; and so on. Then we recall the many millions sterling that India can command by the sale of these valuable products, and by the disposal of her surplus oil-seeds, her tea and coffee, her hides and skins, her lac, indigo and spices, to make no mention of wool, silk, timber, tobacco, and a host of mills of the committee of the sale of the sale

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t t t we forget that she possesses coal and iron in abundance—9,735,010 tons of the former were raised in 1906, whilst the manufacture of the latter is now receiving attention by the brains of some of her most distinguished sons. Gold, too, she possesses in handsome quantities—over 322 lakhs of rupees' worth being unearthed in 1906-7. Further, many of her resources are being developed with an energy and success that cannot fail to extort a tribute of admiration even from experienced England. Jute manufactures to the value of over 10,000,000l. sterling were exported in 1906-7, whilst nearly 14,000,000l. have been already invested in cotton mills, the annual yield of which is now of substantial proportions.

These are the circumstances of the particular State of the British Empire which—together with Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Mauritius, the West Indies, and other Crown Colonies, Protectorates and Dependencies—has been deliberately, by the strategy of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt, excluded from all participation in the attentions or inquiries of this precious 'Imperial' Trade Commission! On Wednesday, the 10th of April, in answer to questions in the House of Commons, Mr. Harcourt stated that:

The intention of the Conference was well known to the Prime Minister and myself, who were members of it, and we have drafted, in consultation and concurrence with all the Dominions, the Reference, which follows as closely as possible the terms of the resolution of the Imperial Conference.

On the same occasion Mr. Harcourt made a statement regarding the personnel of the Royal Commission, to which I shall return presently; and he read the following final form of the reference that was the chef-d'œuvre of the strategy of Mr. Asquith and himself, in which, it will be observed, not only is 'fiscal policy' to be sacred from the intrusion of the Commission (to which the Premiers had consented for fear of being forcibly made Cobdenites!), but the Commission is also strictly prohibited from making any impertinent inquiries as to whether the trade of any part of the Empire 'has been or is being affected, beneficially or otherwise, by '—any 'fiscal laws'! Could Cobdenite obscurantism and dread of the light of truth and free inquiry have a more lurid illustration than this? Here is the masterpiece of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt in extenso:

To inquire into and report upon the natural resources of the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and the Colony of Newfoundland; and, further, to report upon the development of such resources, whether attained or attainable; upon the facilities which exist or may be created for the production, manufacture, and distribution of all articles of commerce in those parts of the Empire; upon the requirements of each such part and of the United Kingdom in the matter of food and raw materials, and the available sources of such; upon the trade of each such part of the Empire with the other parts, with the United Kingdom, and with the rest of the world; upon the trade of the several parts of the Empire has been or is being affected beneficially or otherwise

by the laws now in force, other than fiscal laws; and, generally, to suggest any methods, consistent always with the existing fiscal policy of each part of the Empire, by which the trade of each part with the others and with the United Kingdom might be improved and extended.

From the wording of this reference it is clear that the minds of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt, when drafting it, were obsessed by that wild and unreasoning panic that the mere whisper of the words 'fiscal policy' seems to suggest to Cobdenites, ever since the result of the Canadian elections and the report of Lord Balfour's Commission on the trade between Canada and the West Indies have shown which way the wind is blowing. It is doubtless felt that in the terms of reference of Lord Balfour's Commission far too much scope had been given for honest conviction. been thought sufficient for the sacred cause of Cobdenism, in the case of the Canada-West Indies Commission, if an advanced Cobdenite were appointed chairman—but it happened that the chairman was not only an advanced Cobdenite, but also a Scottish gentleman of the highest character and position, and not merely a party politician 'on the make.' And the result was disastrous to Cobdenism; for the report, now being happily acted on to the immense advantage both of Canada and of the West Indies, was solid for Imperial Preference between those countries. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt are evidently determined, when instructing this great 'Imperial' Trade Commission, to leave no loopholes for conscience or convictions—the dangerous question must be tabooed altogether.

Further, in the nomination of at least three out of the six British Commissioners, the selection has obviously been ruled

primarily by the same considerations.

It is true that Mr. Harcourt, when announcing the names of those on whom the choice of the Government has fallen for this duty—which ought to be one of higher responsibility than almost any that has ever been imposed on a Royal Commissioner—unctuously declared that they had 'deliberately excluded all members of the House of Commons in order to exclude any

possible question of party politics'!

A more audacious or hypocritical claim has probably never been made in Parliament. Lord Inchcape, the distinguished President of the Commission, is a most able and experienced gentleman, a great representative of Indian shipping, a director of the Suez Canal and other important companies, and the negotiator of a Treaty with China in 1902 that was much disliked in India. But his chief fame rests on the fact that in 1907 he was chosen by the Radical Government to be the 'representative' of India in the Imperial Conference of that year, with the idea—as Lord Reay publicly announced at a meeting of the East India Association shofty before the constant transfer to the statement of the East India.

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an advanced Cobdenite he would prove 'a hard nut for the Colonial Premiers to crack ' (sic) in the matter of Imperial Preference; and when it was subsequently pointed out in the House of Commons that Lord Inchcape, then Sir James Mackay, was about the most unsuitable person in the world to 'represent' India, seeing that every known politician of Indian birth is a Protectionist and nearly every Anglo-Indian is a Tariff Reformer, the Government evaded the difficulty by declaring categorically that Sir James had not professed to 'represent' anyone but the Secretary of State for India! However that may be, there is no doubt whatever that his supposed 'representation' of India had carried weight with those who were unacquainted with the true facts of the case.

Then, again, two other very eminent members of the Com mission—Sir Edgar Vincent and Mr. Tom Garnett—are chiefly known for their extreme hostility to Indian views on fiscal questions. Sir Edgar Vincent is a prominent Cobden Club pamphleteer. He has been twice defeated as a Cobdenite in Parliamentary contests—once at Exeter as a Unionist Free Trader, and once in Essex as a Radical Free Trader. But some of his writings published by the Cobden Club have obtained a wide circulation by the aid of that powerful organisation, and he has spoken and written with especial vehemence against Indian Imperial Preference. And Mr. Tom Garnett, in 1895, as the Chairman of the 'Joint Committee of Employers and Operatives on the Indian Cotton Duties,' was the leader of the powerful and successful agitation that forced on Sir Henry Fowler (afterwards Lord Wolverhampton) and Lord George Hamilton the existing fiscal system in India, that imposes import duties on Lancashire cotton-goods, as well as the hated excise duties on the products of Indian cotton-mills.

But, when all this is well understood, some innocent-minded folk may still ask: 'Why should Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt be so desperately anxious to exclude India from the purview of the Commission? They cannot be altogether ignorant of the infinite importance of the Indian trade, not merely to Lancashire and South-West Scotland, but also to every industrial and commercial centre in the United Kingdom. If we supinely allow that trade to slip from our hands—and already immense inroads are being made upon it by the protected and subsidised fraders of Japan and Germany and the other Protectionist foreigners-not only will Lancashire and Cheshire and Lanarkshire be ruined, but Yorkshire and the Midlands and all our manufacturing districts will suffer to almost an equal extent. Is all this nothing to the Asquith Ministry?' And the answer is, that all this is as nothing, when compared with the dange Gurkell Kangri Collection, Haridwar

assured as soon as ever the nuances of the Indian trade are understood by the industrial communities of the North.

The Government have awakened to the fact that India is destined to be the pivot of Tariff Reform. Long ago they admitted that every known statesman and economist of Indian birth is ardently Protectionist, and denounces so-called 'Free Trade' as the ruin of every Indian industry, and they have discovered that, with the enlarged councils and the other reforms of Lord Morley, it is impossible much longer, with even that small pretence at decency which satisfies modern Radicalism, to impose on India their obsolete Cobdenite bigotry. On the other hand, they are well aware that no British House of Commons will ever allow them to concede to India the right of protecting Indian industries against Britain, for that would be not only a most unfriendly act towards the Mother Country, but would undoubtedly produce widespread starvation in Lancashire and the cotton districts, and fatally injure almost every British industry. Some extreme Radicals, like Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Lees-Smith, M.P., have not hesitated to commit themselves to the absurdity of advocating Protection for India with Free Trade for Britain; but the majority of those Liberals who have any knowledge of or authority on Indian matters, such as Lord Morley, Lord Crewe, and Mr. Montagu, M.P., are well aware of the absolute impossibility of such a policy. And, on the other hand, they see that the vast bulk of Anglo-Indian opinion—headed by such experienced men as Lord Lansdowne, Lord Curzon, Lord Minto, Lord Ampthill, all ex-Viceroys, and numerous retired Indian officials-holds that Imperial Preference, fostering both British and Indian industries, and removing the causes of friction between them, is the reasonable and just solution of the Indian fiscal problem. solution is urgently demanded, and the Government know full well that it cannot be long delayed, now that every single Indian member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, appointed under Lord Morley's Act, insists upon it. More than two years ago the late Sir Edward Fitzgerald Law-the famous Indian Finance Minister who signed Lord Curzon's despatch on Preferential Tariffs, and wrote the elaborate minute on which it was foundedin the preface of a little book (dedicated to Mr. Chamberlain) advocating Imperial Preference for India, while he admitted it was too much for India to expect absolute fiscal freedom, declared that :

If she fights for it, she will obtain some measure of that freedom which to-day is denied to her by all the protectionist countries of the world. These countries are delighted to accept from India, free of duty, those raw products which either fail altogether within their own territories, or are produced in insufficient quantities for their requirements; but whilst accepting such articles as provided in the delighted countries and uncleaned rice free of duty, they levy prohibitory import duties on India's just manufactured.

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factures, tanned hides, oils, and cleaned rice. They thus achieve their object of maintaining a cheap supply of raw materials for their own industries, whilst successfully obstructing industrial development in India. It is their natural desire to keep the peoples of India in the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water for their manufacturers. Ought such a situation to be tolerated when we hold the remedy in our own hands? Can we expect the people of India to accept it with equanimity? not, by our present attitude, justify the Swadeshi movement, and wilfully add fuel to the flame of political unrest?

Mr. Bonar Law, in an illuminating speech on the whole question of Indian Imperial Preference, delivered before the East India Association in the Caxton Hall, on the 5th of May 1907, after noting the immense stimulus that Indian Preference would afford to our own British industries, declared plainly his strong conviction that, ' of all the parts of the British Empire, the one which will benefit the most, and benefit most rapidly, will be the British

Indian Empire.'

And it was also Mr. Bonar Law who, in his numerous Lancashire speeches on this question, clearly explained the two great and cardinal reasons why the Cobdenite system of so-called Free Trade has utterly failed in India, and has now become impossible there. The first reason is that Cobdenism has hopelessly strangled all the nascent industries of the country-and the reawakened national life of India under Lord Morley's reforms will not stand this any longer. And the second reason is that Cobdenism renders absolutely necessary in India that odious and inquisitorial system of excise duties on the products of Indian mills and factories, which is more detested by the people than any other form of taxation.

To see that Mr. Bonar Law is absolutely right, it is only needful to understand what this excise system really means—a system that is unknown in any other country in the world, that we should not dare to impose on any one of our self-governing Colonies, and that our own British manufacturers and operatives

would spurn with the greatest indignation.

When it was imposed in 1895 by Lord Elgin, at the bidding of Mr. Tom Garnett and his friends, it was absolutely necessary because of the laws of Free Trade, for the following reasons:

(1) Indian finance cannot possibly do without import and export duties. For, as the present Finance Minister explained two years ago, when imposing import duties on the cigarettes manufactured by Bristol and Liverpool working-men, the only alternatives under Free Trade are to impose increased taxation on the pinches of salt and the miserable little patches of paddy-

(2) But the Draconian law of the Cobden Club-laughed at by land of the poor raiyat. all the rest of the world, but a stern reality for India—is, that you must not put a tax on in Kurgoods of the protected and subsidised

Japanese or Germans, or on your own monopolies sold to them, unless you at the same time put an equivalent tax on both British and Indian goods.

(3) So, as the Indian revenues need, inter alia, duty on the imports of foreign cotton goods of 3\frac{1}{2} per cent. ad valorem. Free Trade insists that the same 31 per cent. shall be charged not only on the imports of all Lancashire and Scottish cotton goods, but also as an excise duty on the products of the Indian cotton-mills.

Now, consider how this excise duty works. Every cottonfactory in the country is liable to be overhauled by the underlings of the Government, to have its premises searched, its books examined, its operatives molested. Every Indian cotton-factory is compelled to submit monthly returns, showing:

(1) Every ounce of cotton varn spun.

(2) A description of the 'count' of yarn spun.

(3) Every yard of cloth woven.

(4) A description of every variety of cloth woven.

(5) Details of bleached, or dyed, or printed cloths, if any. And within fifteen days of the close of each month the factories have to pay the excise duty on the cloth made in the previous month, whether sold or not!

The abuses that must arise under such a system are obvious. Can even the most bureaucratic Radical imagine such a system at work in Lancashire or Lanarkshire? Would Mr. Harcourt dare to propose such a system to Canada or Australia, to countervail their much higher customs duties? But if not, what becomes of our vaunted 'trusteeship' of India?

The Radical says to India, 'If you want to get rid of your excise duty on Indian cotton, take off your duties on imported cottons-including those on the dumped Japanese cotton hosiery that has already killed the Bombay manufacture.' what about the loss to Indian revenue?

The Tariff Reformer, on the other hand, says to India, 'You reasonably object to this odious tax-abolish both the import duty on Lancashire and other British cottons and the excise duty on Indian cottons, and recoup your revenues by moderate duties on all the imported manufactures of the protected and subsidised foreigner, and on the exports to those foreign countries of such Indian monopolies as raw jute and lac-and, in return for your remission of the duties on British manufactures, the United Kingdom and the other States of the British Empire will give your produce and your manufactures, such as gunny-bags and so forth, a substantial preference in every British port.'

As a matter of fact, a moderate duty on the export of raw jute to countries outside the British Empire would at once produce a revenue sufficient to recoup the Indian Exchequer for every rupee on the loss occasioned by the remission of all taxation on British

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imports and Indian cottons. As jute is an absolute monopoly, and enormously cheaper than any competing fibre, and as Germany and America and other manufacturing countries must have the raw materials for their flourishing industries, such a duty would not seriously affect the foreign consumption, while it would immensely strengthen and stimulate both the Calcutta and the Dundee jute industry.

Similarly, a moderate duty on the imports into India of foreign cotton and woollen goods and other manufactures, with complete freedom for British and Indian goods, would strengthen the British and Indian industries—while the remission of all taxation on British and Indian cottons (the chief sources of supply) would instantly cheapen the clothing of every one of the

315,000,000 of the Indian peoples.

Radicals sometimes advance the futile objection that Indian Protectionists would not be satisfied with the modified protection of Imperial Preference—but surely, the half-loaf of Preference is better than the no-bread of Cobdenism? And as to the extremely foolish bogey of foreign retaliation, Lord Inchcape's chief argument at the Imperial Conference of 1907, this is what the great Indian Finance Minister, Sir Edward Fitzgerald Law, said of that:

I am aware that many who have not studied the details of Indian trade fear that if India adopted a policy of retaliation her foreign customers would refuse to receive her exported produce, and that India would consequently suffer severely in her all-important export trade; but, if the position be examined in detail, it will be found that India has a practical monopoly of production of certain important raw materials, and that as regards many others, where she has not a monopoly, her production forms such a large percentage of the whole that its exclusion from any market must necessarily enhance prices in that market in a manner most prejudicial to local industrial interests. It must be recognised that the countries which have built up important industries, on the basis of a cheap supply of raw material, cannot afford to see those industries threatened with a failure of that supply.

With such overwhelming advantages for India, and for the Indian trade with the rest of the Empire, that are offered by Imperial Preference, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt so dexterously evaded any impartial inquiry into the subject. And on the 16th of April Mr. Harcourt, replying to questions in the House, refused to hold out any hope of a subsidiary commission to deal with India and the Crown Colonies and Protectorates. But the interests thus obscured and neglected are so immense that they cannot long be suppressed, even by the most skilful Parliamentary legerdemain.

TREATMENT OF FEEBLE-MINDED THE CHILDREN

THE feeble-minded, as defined by the Royal College of Physicians, are 'persons who may be capable of earning a living under favourable circumstances, but are incapable from mental defect existing from birth, or from an early age, (a) of competing on equal terms with their normal fellows; (b) of managing themselves and their affairs with ordinary prudence.' They are not to be confounded with imbeciles and idiots, though they may easily sink into the ranks of these. We can all recall examples ? the 'innocent' of the village, the child who is growing up 'not quite all there,' the gentle, foolish girl who is 'not quite like other people.' The following points have also been emphasised: that a really feeble-minded child will always remain feebleminded; that feeble-mindedness is hereditary.

From results collected by the Royal Commission on the cars and control of the feeble-minded, which issued its report in 1908, it is estimated that there were in England and Wales in the previous year 149,628 mentally defective persons, other than certified lunatics; and of these, 66,509 were urgently in need of institutional care. Harmless in themselves, such persons become a source of weakness to the country, a danger to which we are only becoming fully alive as it threatens to grow almost unmanage-The mentally deficient are peculiarly sensitive to sexual influences; evidence collected affords ample proof of their rather abnormal fertility and of the almost invariable degeneracy of their offspring. In one case, the descendants of a feeble-minded woman have been traced, showing a line of forty-eight persons, every one of whom is of deficient intellect or has alcoholic tendencies. In one workhouse sixteen feeble-minded women gave birth to 116 children. A woman was recently brought to a Home who had had eighteen children, sixteen of whom had died; the remaining two were imbecile. Another defective woman is instanced as having one apparently normal child, one who is a violent epileptic and two who are criminals—another manifestation of the same disease. The normal child and one criminal have no children. One son has five, all criminal like himself; the

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ex leptic acounts for four imbecile and three criminal children; and such examples could be multiplied ad nauseam.

In one gaol alone, moreover, 600 mental defectives passed through in a year. Seventeen cases had at least forty convictions each, while three had 102 and another 94, yet not one of these could be classed as detainable. The Royal Commission gives such figures as the following: From 45,000 to 50,000 of the school-children of the country, from one-fourth to one-fifth of all the inmates in workhouses, one-tenth of the prisoners, about one-half of the girls in Rescue Homes, one-tenth of the tramps Il over the country, and two-thirds of the inmates of Homes for Inebriates, are mentally defective. During four years the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children dealt with 1113 cases in which either the parents or the children were of weak intellect.

Present conditions involve untold suffering to these unhappy beings. The greater number are quite unable to earn a living, and drag on a miserable existence, involved in poverty and disease, the butt and sport of the town or village, often ill-treated and punished, starved and beaten, for faults which are beyond their own control. Their criminality is generally owing to their having no strength of will to resist temptation; their idleness may steadily without skilled superbe ascribed to inab ified provision, no provision at all on any adequate s. , is made by the State for this large vision. Yet practic. body of dependent persons. Feeble-minded children who commit lawless actions cannot be sent to any ordinary Industrial School: as soon as their mental condition is discovered the school refuses to keep them. The deficient child offender coming from a poor home is sent back to that home, to knock about the streets, to fall further into crime, to be the cat's-paw of every sharp and unscrupulous companion he may come across, and often to undergo long terms of imprisonment as the only way magistrates can devise for dealing with him.

Dr. Tredgold, in a paper read at the Manchester Poor Law

Conference, says:

Those who are fortunate enough to have means are kept by their relatives. For those who are not so fortunate the State does not provide any definite system of care. It makes no effort to supply the favourable conditions under which these people might earn a living. It simply looks on, furnishes neither protection nor control, and allows them to prey upon it. It is no matter for surprise to find that in a very short time the youth or the young woman is in the prison or the Rescue Home. But there is no power to detain them in these institutions—they are very soon at large again, and the process goes on indefinitely. During their whole lives they are handied from pillar to post, and it is no exaggeration to say that the existence of many-utilithem is a continuous round of prison, workhouse, Rescue Home, and street.

The girls are in and out of the Maternity Wards year after year, without anyone having power to detain them, and it is not uncommon to find working-men taking half-witted girls to wife.

Mental deficiency, in short, stands high among the causes of destitution and crime. It has been a repeated subject of legislation, and the principle, as a principle, will hardly be questioned, that a state of things exists which calls upon the State to subordinate individual liberty to national interests, and to exercise the function of parent and guardian towards those who have no one to take them in charge.

There was a time when the ducking-stool was the only remedy which suggested itself for the half-witted woman, and when the 'softy' and the 'innocent' shared in the treatment meted out to the insane. By degrees other ideas have established themselves, and now the main principle laid down in dealing with this class is that their circumstances shall be in every case improved.

The causes that have chiefly contributed to make them what they are lay a heavy responsibility upon England. We look back to the past, down a long vista of generations of worker in our agricultural districts, in our mining country, in our manufacturing towns, enfeebled by unwholesome surroundings and crippled by grinding conditions. 'In all her catalogue of achievement,' says Mr. George Peel in a recent book, 'England has neglected her own breed of men.' Her wage-earners in the last century were unable for many years, even with the most careful management, to procure the necessaries of healthy life. Their offspring grew up under-nourished, poorly clothed, degenerate in physique; they had families prone to early deterioration, and the extreme point was reached in those members who fell below the normal in mental capacity.

The fact that their numbers are rising and that they are becoming a grave and progressive danger to the country has, in all its urgent significance, been taken to heart at last.

The Prime Minister, speaking on the 20th of November, said that the care and control of the feeble-minded was occupying the serious attention of himself and his colleagues, and he earnestly hoped it would be possible to deal with it at an early date. Since then we learn that Mr. McKenna intends to bring in a Bill this session for dealing with the situation, and it seems the moment for examining the present position and for considering various proposals.

We are bound not only to keep the feeble-minded alive, but we are bound to do our best for them If, as seems scarcely to be doubted, it will be judged fair in the future to deprive them of liberty, we must see that they are made happy, and it is a task that will entail lifelong care, for it is urged even more

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. CCCCXXIV-June 1912

LABOUR UNREST AS A SUBJECT OF OFFICIAL INVESTIGATION

The recent proposal, which must be taken as seriously meant, that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire into the causes of social and industrial 'unrest' is one which, if taken in a limited sense, may be useful; but if its sense is extended beyond limits which are very strict and definite, it is more suited to the atmosphere of one of the political burlesques of Aristopha atmosphere of serious politics. As I propose to point out briefly than to that of serious politics. As I propose to point out briefly in the following pages, the causes of this unrest are not only various in their details but are also various in their character; various in their details but are also various in their character; and certain of them—and these the most important—are such and certain of them—and these the most important—are such that, if made the subject of official inquiry of any kind at all, are more fit for the investigations of the confessional or the all, are more fit for the investigations of a Parliamentary chair-psychological laboratory than for those of a Parliamentary chair man and a committee of officials and politicians.

That such is the case is made sufficiently evident by facts which are familiar to everyone. Those who propose that the causes of social 'unrest' should be subjected to an official inquiry

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are no doubt thinking primarily of the wage-earning classes of this country, the conditions under which they work and live, and their annual incomes as compared with the cost of living and also with the position of those whose earnings or whose means are larger. Here no doubt are questions into which a Parliamentary inquiry is possible; but social 'unrest' is a phenomenon which is not by any means confined to those in whose case it can possibly be attributable to the pressure of economic want, or the anxieties incident to the avoidance of it. Under different forms it betrays itself in the lives of those whose means are far in excess of anything that could possibly be the lot of the majority of the human race under any social system whatsoever. One of its most remarkable manifestations is the frenzy of the hammer-bearing Maenads, who seek to enter paradise by assault, through the splinters of shop-windows. These women and their leaders for the most part belong to the affluent or comparatively affluent classes. Many of them are rich. Many of them, in addition to riches, enjoy all the advantages of position which are generally the sedatives discontent. And yet the 'unrest' of these persons in its essentials hardly distinguishable from that of the Welsh rioters who, by way of compelling the coalowners to revise their rates of wages, wrecked the premises of the tradesmen who supplied them with their tobacco and their daily bacon. It is evident, therefore, that the social 'unrest' of to-day has other causes behind it in addition to those associated with direct economic Economic pressure, as experienced by the poorer sections of the community, is one of the causes, and will presently be considered here, when it will be shown that its actual operation as a disturbing element differs widely from the popular conception of it; but those causes shall be considered first which are of a more general kind, and we will begin with one which is affecting all classes alike.

UNREST AS A PRODUCT OF INCREASED FACILITIES OF TRAVEL

The late Mr. Phelps, for many years American Ambassador in this country, when I was once walking with him on a lonely road in the neighbourhood of the Highland Railway, said suddenly after a long silence, 'The Devil never found a truer note for his voice than the railway whistle. There it goes, from one end of the country to the other, crying to all the boys and girls, "Come away, come away, come away." And when they go, they find the place they have gone to better in no way than the place they have left behind.' In these fer words we have a profound analysis of a large part of that contemporary unrest which is commonly supposed to be confined to the ranks of Labour. It is

not so confined. It affects all classes alike. As we know from Lucretius and from Horace, it was latent in the ancient world, ready to become acute under the stimulation of congenial circumstances. But such circumstances were then those of the fewest of the few only—of the few who possessed, in addition to their Roman palaces, villas so numerous that it was a labour to choose between them; and chariots which would whirl the owners from one of these to the other. But even so their unrest, if we may judge from the words of Lucretius, did not carry them outside what, in the language of the modern cabman, was a twelve-mile The railway to-day radius from the Charing Cross of Rome. has a similar and yet more disturbing influence on all classes The humblest labourer can, for a penny or twopence, travel further in twenty minutes than the trampling team of Lucullus would have carried him between dawn and sunset; and he can do so in a vehicle, in comparison with the ease and comfort of which the humblest labourer would denounce the chariot of Lucullus as a 'bone-shaker.' Every Bank Holiday carries its millions of excursionists to seashores so remote that Horace would have called them 'fabulous'; whilst the effects on the rich of these increased facilities for travel have developed so rapidly, even during the last thirty years, that English watering-places which once were the haunts of fashion have witnessed the scattering of their patrons of the older class along the shores of the Mediterranean, the banks of the Nile and Ganges, the southern extremity of Africa, and the islands of the West Indies. Few things can render this change so vivid as do the parks and pleasure-grounds of such of our old country-houses as still preserve externally what was their aspect in the eighteenth century. The classical or the Chinese pavilions, which are one of their distinctive features often within a stone's-throw of the house and rarely more than a mile from it-were the goals of excursions which, with the simple feast accompanying them, were the adventures and the excitements of a day. For Miss Austen's heroes and heroines a journey to Box Hill from the adjacent borders of Kent was the exploration of an unknown wonderland, to be anticipated and looked back upon for months.

How constantly is the remark heard from the lips even of seasoned travellers, 'I never can see a train without wishing that I was going by it.' For the rich this wish is charged with the subconscious feeling that any place would be more pleasurable than that in which they actually are. For the poor it is charged with a feeling of a like kind, that any change in the conditions under which they now work would be a change for conditions unimaginably different and unimaginably better for themselves. In their case this feeling achieves perhaps its most definite expression in

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the tendency to leave the villages for the towns. So far as our own country is concerned, superficial observers are accustomed to represent this tendency as the result of our insular land-system, of the tyranny of great landlords, or at all events of the fact that the majority of our agricultural population are not themselves the owners of the land they till. In this contention there may, or again there may not be, a certain element of truth. But whatever truth there may be in it, it affords-and this is my sole point here—a very partial explanation of the phenomenon here in question: for precisely the same tendency is observable in other countries where the peculiarities of our own land-system are most conspicuous by their absence. That the magic of ownership will not anchor the small cultivator to the country is shown in Belgium by the fact that the number of peasant owners of from 21 to 12 acres decreased by 16 per cent. between the years 1880 and 1895. In France, which has been the classic home of peasant ownership for a century, the towns are now growing at the expense of the rural districts. Between the years 1900 and 1910 the working agricultural population had declined by nearly 70,000 The attraction of the towns, even in Australia, is exerting a similar influence. A movement so general evidently cannot be due to economic conditions of any one particular kind. It is rather due to the disturbing effect on the imagination of an enlarged vision of conditions which are continually increasing in variety, any one of which our increased facilities of movement tend to present as possible, and which are bewildering by their competing promises—promises never fulfilled, or fulfilled but to some small degree.

UNREST AND MODERN POPULAR EDUCATION

Causes of unrest such as these may be called the automatic education of circumstances. But there is a further cause of a more specific kind, the operation of which is less general but more definitely disturbing in proportion to the limitations of the area of its influence. This is the development of education in the narrower sense of the word. Throughout the civilised world for more than two generations, an education in many respects novel has been inflicted on classes a large portion of whom, even fifty years ago, were innocent of the art of reading; and a change has consequently been brought about in the mental conditions of the majority to which there has been no parallel in the mental conditions of the few. For the few, from time immemorial, there has been a continuous congruity between their education and their general circumstances, which has rendered the one as much a matter of course as the other. They have been educated up to a standard of expectations and appreciations which, from

their youth up, have been satisfied in the persons of those around them, and which in the natural course of things would presumably be satisfied in their own. For them education, as such, has never possessed any of the excitements of novelty. It has never disturbed them, as a class, with a sense of new and untried powers. It has come to them merely as the ordinary and indispensable equipment for any kind of life amongst their equals, let the talents and career of the individual prove to be what they may.

But with the masses—and more particularly with that section of the masses which, under any social system, must always be the most numerous—namely, those engaged in the exercise of manual labour—the case has been widely different. The whole idea of education for the people, ever since such an idea began to be practically popularised, has been derived from the kind of education traditional amongst a limited class, and devised with a view to circumstances peculiar to such a class only—circumstances which may, indeed, be rendered impossible for anybody, but can never be common to all, or even the majority of the human race. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the kind of education in question, it has had for its object and result the equipment of those receiving it for the positions they have been destined to occupy, or for the class of occupations by means of which they have been destined to support themselves. diplomat, for example, has been grounded in the classical, and made proficient in modern languages, with a view to endowing him with those cosmopolitan accomplishments in the absence of which no diplomat can be a successful citizen of the world; but in so far as an education devised after this model is inflicted on that majority of the human race whose livelihood depends on those tasks which are commonly called 'labour,' education becomes in one respect a radically different thing. Between it and their practical circumstances there is no similar connexion. case of an Ambassador a knowledge of French has a direct bearing on the performance by him of his distinctive functions. But a similar knowledge would have no similar effect in the case of a coalhewer, a tiller of the soil, or a dairymaid. Of course it may be argued that any kind of general culture, by widening the minds of such persons, increases their capacities of enjoyment; but it would do nothing towards so developing the coalhewer's special efficiency that from earning seven shillings a day he may rise to earning fourteen; nor would it render the dairymaid a better maker of butter, or the husbandman a more pro-Instead of being aids to work, it would ductive cultivator.

The general fact here indicated is, indeed, widely recognised, constitute a distraction from it. and especially by many who claim, in the extremest sense, to

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Member, Mr. Lansbury, declared not long ago that much of the modern 'unrest' in the labour world is due to the fact that education has made the labourer impatient of such tasks as 'the hewing of wood, the drawing of water,' and so forth. But what Mr. Lansbury and others omit to notice is this—that education, in the sense of general culture, whilst rendering such tasks distasteful does nothing to diminish their necessity, or in any way to alter their character, by enabling those who perform them to perform them with greater ease. Without imputing to Mr. Lansbury unduly luxurious tastes, we may assume that when the weather is cold one of his normal requirements is a fire; and that a pork chop, a herring, a slice of cod, form no infrequent articles of his diet. But in order that Mr. Lansbury may be warm whilst he elaborates expositions of Socialism, somebody must be a hewer of wood, or-more literally-of coal; in order that he may eat his chop the hands of some of his comrades must be red with the blood of pigs; and in order that by his morning fire he may have a 'bit of fish' for his breakfast, other comrades must toil all night amongst the tempests of the North Sea. Does education, in the sense of general culture, make fire

and food less necessary for Mr. Lansbury himself? Or does it in any way modify the circumstances under which they are obtainable for him by the efforts of others? Does it make coal-getting a process as easy as the picking of buttercups? Would it enable the sticker of pigs to substitute for his customary bloodshed some

death by a rose in aromatic pain'? Would any amount of general culture enable the North Sea fisherman to calm the waves at his will, and reduce his calling to a pastime like that of catching carp in a marble basin at Versailles?

So far as labour in general is concerned, the only kind of education which equips the labourer for the performance of it is purely technical, and consists mainly of the performance of such labour itself and the knowledge and dexterities thereby acquired. It often does not even require any mastery of the art

of reading. But although education, in the more general sense of the word, results in no such enlargement of the labourer's productive efficiency, it tends to produce in his mind an illusory consciousness that it does so: that hence he deserves a corre-

spondingly increased reward, and that, failing to get it, he suffers some correspondingly increasing wrong.

In other words, the modern experiment of applying to the masses at large a system of education modelled, so far as its general character goes, on that which had previously been applied to a limited class only, has had on the majority thus far, all over the world, the effect of increasing their expectations without

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doing anything to increase their industrial power of satisfying 1912 them.

This is the point which persons such as Mr. Lansbury and others neglect, and it is the cardinal fact of the situation. will be referred to again presently.

LIABOUR UNREST AS DIRECTLY CONNECTED WITH ECONOMIC CONDITIONS: FACTS versus AN OPTICAL ILLUSION

But a further cause of unrest (or rather an alleged cause) remains to be considered first. According to most agitators it is the principal cause, and consists of the fact that alike in this country, and in all others with a similar industrial system, every increase in national wealth is absorbed by a small minority, and that the income of the rest of the population, relatively to its number, not only does not increase but absolutely grows less and less; so that, to quote the words of a recent Socialist manifesto, 'Labour Unrest, instead of originating in official tradeunion agitation, is (on the part of the rank and file) in the last These words are taken from a petition drawn up recently by the Executive Committee of the analysis an appeal for life.' Church Socialist League, for presentation to the Convocation of the Provinces of Canterbury and York, by the Bishops of Birmingham and Wakefield. This is simply a reproduction by certain clerical and episcopal gentlemen to-day of assertions first popularised in definite form by Karl Marx in the year 1865, and subsequently repudiated, or at least very greatly modified, even by the more thoughtful Socialists in this country, in Germany, and in America. For purposes of popular agitation, as distinct from those of serious discussion, Socialists of all types have nevertheless continued to make use of it. Whilst rejecting it in their formal treatises, they have stimulated their propagandists to make use of it at the street corner; and now a certain section of the Anglican clergy have made a new departure by fishing it out of the

In an article on the statistics of Socialism, published recently in this Review, this statement, as set forth in detail by the gutter for themselves. two most eminent writers whom the Socialistic movement has produced, was submitted to a systematic analysis: each of the separate clauses into which it divides itself was tested by reference to definite official statistics covering a period of more than a hundred years, and every one of these clauses was shown to be not only not correct but a grotesque inversion of the specifically

1 'Socialistic Ideas and Practical Politics,' by W. H. Mallock, Nineteenth ascertainable truth. Century and After, April 1912.

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There is, however, an aspect of the question (hitherto altogether neglected) which did not fall within the scope of the article just referred to—an aspect of the highest importance—and with which I shall deal now. A consideration of this will incline us not indeed to modify our views as to the fallacy of the Socialist position, but to recognise that it has some foundation other than ignorance, or the desire to foment class hatred. We shall find that though the actual changes which have taken place in the distribution of wealth are the very reverse of what is asserted by such persons as Karl Marx, Henry George, by the Bishop of Birmingham and his flock of Anglican Socialists, they do nevertheless, when regarded from certain points of view, produce an illusory impression that the assertions of the Socialists are correct; just as on a person seated in a stationary train the movement of a train adjacent to him produces the impression that he is himself in motion.

What, then, is the actual something—the actual feature distinctive of the modern world-by which this impression is generated in the minds even of many who, in their cooler moments, repudiate it? The answer is simple, when once we know where to look for it.

When it is asserted that during the last hundred years or so the poor have been growing poorer, it cannot be meant, even by the Bishop of Birmingham, that those belonging to the poorest class of all have year by year been obtaining less and less to live upon-that is to say, that they have been becoming poorer and poorer as individuals; for if this class was on the verge of destitution in the year 1800, it cannot ever since then have been growing more destitute still, for otherwise it would have ceased to exist. The only possible meaning, then, of which the assertion that it has been growing continuously poorer is susceptible, is not that its members are individually getting less and less to live on, but that such persons as belong to it have been growing more and more numerous.

Now if we consider the conditions of this country as they are to-day and as they were at the beginning of the nineteenth century, we may, without committing ourselves to any specific figures, grant that the poorest class has, in point of absolute numbers, very greatly increased. This fact, however, taken by itself no more indicates that the modern industrial system results in an increase of poverty, than an absolute increase in the number of deaths occurring annually within the borders of Great Britain indicates that, owing to the developments of medical science, the population is growing more and more unhealthy. If we wish to know what the development of such science has accomplished, we do not compare the absolute number of annual deaths in a

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country during one period with the absolute number of annual deaths during another. We take these numbers in each case in

relation to the population as a whole. Let us take, for example, some British Colony on the Gold Coast which fifty years ago comprised a thousand Englishmen, and which to-day comprises forty thousand. Let us further suppose that fifty years ago a hundred out of the thousand colonists annually fell victims to some malarial fever, but that to-day, owing to the development of medical science, the annual death-rate per thousand has sunk from a hundred to twenty. Everyone would admit that the health of such a colony had improved—that the malignity of the local fever had been very largely reduced, and yet the actual number of annual victims would have risen from a hundred at the earlier date to as much as eight hundred at the later.

And the same is the case with poverty. If at a given date out of every 1000 of the inhabitants of a given country 100 were subsisting on incomes not exceeding 30l. a year; and if at a subsequent date the number of such persons per 1000 had sunk from 100 to 50, everyone would admit that extreme poverty was declining, and that amongst the population as a whole comparative wealth was on the increase; and yet, if we take these figures as roughly indicative of what has happened in this country between the year 1800 and the present time, the increase of the population, taken as a whole, has been such that whereas at the beginning of the nineteenth century the poorest class in Great Britain would not have numbered more than 1,000,000, its actual

number would be about 2,000,000 to-day. But however true it may be that, relatively to the population as a whole (and this is the only true test that we can apply in the matter) poverty has been continuously decreasing, it will nevertheless have been increasing relatively to something elsea permanent and unalterable something which is far more obvious to the senses, and has far more effect on the imagination, than the number of the population as a whole—which for many, even of those who are aware of it, is little more than an arithmetical This is the geographical area which the population in question occupies. This means that, even if the number of very poor persons per 1000 in this country to-day be only half of what it was, say, in the year 1800, the average number of such persons per square mile is greater. And, when we consider that the main increase in the population has taken place in urban and semi-urban districts (the extent of which, as compared with the entire country, is small), we may admit that the increase of poverty has been very great indeed per square mile of those districts in which its presence is most noticeable.

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The natural effect of this fact on the imagination may, perhaps, be best illustrated by referring again to the casestrictly parallel—of disease and death. Let us imagine, then, an area circumscribed by a circular line having a doctor's house for its centre, and let us suppose that a hundred years ago this area was occupied by a small and ill-drained village, in which few were really healthy and the death-rate was abnormally high, and that this area to-day is covered by a considerable town in which the drainage system is perfect, the good health of the inhabitants is exceptional, and the percentage of deaths from disease reduced to one-fifth of what it was in the original village. Finally, let us suppose that all these improvements are due to a single doctor, representing the general growth of medical and sanitary science, whose active life has been prolonged for more than a hundred years. If such a doctor, sitting every night at his window, could hear all the sounds of pain and loss in the area of which he was still the centre, though he would know that his whole life had been an increasing triumph over sickness and premature death, and that whereas twenty homes out of every hundred were desolated by such causes in his youth the corresponding number had now been reduced to four, the cries of suffering that would reach him from the modern healthy town would be more numerous, and would assail him in greater volume, than those which reached him in his youth from the old-world pestilential village.

Similarly, if we substitute for such a doctor a social reformer or an observer of social conditions, though poverty in the oldworld village might to his knowledge have been almost co-extensive with the inhabitants, and though it might have sunk in the modern town to one-fifteenth of them, yet the poverty-stricken roofs which he could identify from his window through an operaglass might be ten times as numerous as all the homes in the

old-world village put together.

Out of this fact that, though in the only true sense of the words-namely, in relation to the population as a whole-poverty has been continuously decreasing, it has increased relatively to given geographical areas, there arises a kind of optical delusion. All persons are liable to it, and persons of an emotional temperament more especially so. Nor is this unnatural, for, expressed in another way, the fact out of which it arises is simply this, that an increasing amount of poverty has become, as it were, physically perceptible from any one of those points of local observation which the observer is most apt to select for the purposes of his survey. But to argue, like the Bishop of Birmingham and the other signatories to his manifesto, that poverty has increased as a consequence of the capitalistic system, and that private ownership of capital should forthwith be made to

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cease,' is like arguing that because medical science, by diminishing the death-rate per 100, has helped to increase the population, it has increased the number of those who each year must die, it has really been a multiplier of disease, and should 'forthwith' be abolished.

The illusion, however, of which persons like the Bishop of Birmingham are victims, does not arise only from what has happened in the case of the poor. It depends also on what has happened in the case of the rich. Just as one half of their charge against the present economic system is that, besides being the cause of an increasing volume of poverty it concomitantly results in an increasing concentration of enormous and increasing wealth in the hands of a small minority, so this impression, though it is no less illusory than the other, has its excuse in facts of an analogous kind. As I pointed out in my article in the April number, already referred to, the total income of 'the rich' in this country, which is properly comparable with the total income of the rest of the community, forms (contrary to the loose ideas of the Bishop of Birmingham and his friends) not an overwhelming but a surprisingly small part. deduct from the national income that portion of it which comes into this country from abroad, and which depends in respect of its origin not on home labour but on foreign, and confine ourselves to the total which is produced in the United Kingdom, we shall find that of this total about 87 per cent. consists of incomes not exceeding 800l. a year; whilst all the incomes (of home origin) exceeding 5000l. a year do not amount in the aggregate to more than 4 per cent. Moreover, the richer classes those who, according to the Bishop of Birmingham, swallow up 'the whole of the vast increase of the national wealth'—will be found, if we examine the income-tax returns since the beginning of the present century, to be the classes which, alike in number and aggregate income, increase most slowly. This is shown partly by the fact that out of the separately assessed incomes during the period in question there has been an increase of 28,000,000l. in respect of incomes not exceeding 800l., whilst the aggregate of incomes exceeding that sum has suffered an actual, though a very slight, diminution; and also by the further fact that houses worth more than 80l. a year have increased by a few thousands only, whilst houses worth between 201. and 801.

But, in spite of all this, there is another fact which still remains to be considered. This is the average number of houses have increased by 280,000. of various values per mile. The total number per mile, for England and Wales, was 94 in 1891; ten years later it was 107; at the present time the number is approximately 115. Now the of all kinds has been approximately 20 per square mile, there has

hardly been so much as an average increase of one in the case

of houses of this more expensive class. We may, indeed, for

the purpose of the present argument, suppose that the number

of these has not increased at all; for even in that case, though

the number of such houses per square mile would have been stationary, there would have been a constant increase in the number of houses of lower values; and each of the occupants of these would have been so many new spectators of the few larger houses, and have daily been made aware by their eyesight

that the occupants of them were richer than themselves.

though the actual proportion of the relatively rich to the poor

and the relatively poor would have been decreasing, the contrast

between riches and poverty would have been constantly brought

home to a greater number of people. Hence, by a natural and very intelligible process, an illusion would have been created

of a kind precisely opposite to that of the facts which created

growing less and less, would have had the false appearance of

increasing, simply because there would have been more witnesses

of the difference between the two. If one man eating twice

as much as is good for him is watched by a hundred people who

cannot secure enough, the volume of envy which he excites is twice as great as that which would be excited if the spectacle were watched by fifty only; but the proportion of food represented by the one big dinner to the aggregate of food represented by fifty small ones, is twice the proportion borne by it to the aggregate of a hundred small ones. If the Bishop of Birmingham has a shilling, whilst eleven other men have sixpence, the Bishop might be regarded as robbing them each of a halfpenny; but if, whilst the Bishop has a shilling, there are twenty-three men with only sixpence, the number of contrasts between him

The proportion borne by wealth to poverty, though actually

has been so small that, whilst the average increase of houses

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and the rest is doubled, though the maximum of which he could be regarded as robbing each of them would be in this case no more than a farthing. Hence we see that, though contrary to the cant assertion of the Socialist that the masses of the population are constantly becoming poorer, that their unrest is by this time a simple 'appeal for life' (whilst the relative riches of the rich are as constantly becoming greater), the income of the poor is really the relatively increasing quantity, and that of the rich is a relatively, though not an absolutely, decreasing one-we see, I say, that, though in point of fact the Socialists are diametrically wrong, there is much in the aspect of things which suggests to the imagination

-much, indeed, which almost convinces the senses-that they Thus a kind of unrest is produced similar in kind to that which would result on board a ship, sound in every particular, if the passengers were persuaded by some mischiefmaker with a smattering of nautical terms that every time she plunged into a hollow of the waves she was sinking.

SUMMARY

Modern unrest has, therefore, three causes which, though totally distinct from that which Socialists are accustomed to assign to it, are actual and not fancied causes, and which are, in respect of their magnitude, peculiar to the modern world.

Let us briefly go over them again, and ask what are the results to which they point in the future and in what directions

we may reasonably look for a remedy.

Let us start with reconsidering the last of them-namely, that which is purely economic and relates to the physical conditions of the poorer sections of the community—especially those who live by manual labour. That there exists in this country, despite the general spread of well-being, a population precariously nourished and inadequately housed, which, small as it may be in proportion to the present population as a whole, yet equals in number the entire population of England at the time of the Norman Conquest, may unhappily be accepted as true; and that such poverty, if it can never be entirely removed, may yet be reduced to relatively negligible dimensions, must be one of the chief hopes and objects of every sagacious statesman. It is, however, very doubtful whether the utmost progress possible in this direction would even modify the sort of labour unrest which is characteristic of the present time.

The grounds on which this assertion is made are not far to seek. One is the well-known fact which is exemplified by all classes alike—namely, that after the fundamental needs of the human body are satisfied and have been supplemented by the Provision of such secondary requisites as are practically made necessaries by the habits of whatever class may be in question, each further addition of wealth, as soon as the recipients are habituated to it, ceases to be felt as any addition at all. Those who were contented before are not thankful now. Those who were discontented before are just as discontented still. makes discontent—apart from actual privation or the anxiety which comes from the fear of it—is not what people have got, but a comparison of what they have got with that which they have been stimulated into thinking that they can get and ought

The truth of these observations is illustrated in the most vivid way by the events of the present day. There is, no doubt, an unrest which, in the language of the Bishop of Birmingham, is really 'an appeal for life,' but that such is not the kind of unrest which is typically prominent to-day is shown by the fact that the most determined, the most bitter, and the most highly organised of recent strikes is that which has occurred amongst workers who belong to the best-paid, not the worst-paid, section of their class. One of the best-educated of the Parliamentary leaders of the Labour Party boasted, some years ago, in an article in this Review, that the main supporters of his party were not the population of the slums but the better-paid and more skilful of the artisans. The coal-miners, who must be included under this general description, earn incomes which vary considerably according to the capacities of the individual; but however moderate may be the individual earnings of some of them, the most prominent leaders, and the most obstinate supporters of the recent coal-strike, comprised men who, together with their families, enjoyed household incomes far larger than those of many of the Bishop of Birmingham's own clergy. Amongst the most ardent of the recent strikers in the West of Scotland were two Poles (brothers), who admitted that their joint annual earnings were certainly not less than 400l. In one of the South Wales collieries, out of twenty men, taken in the order of their places, it was ascertained that all but three were earning more than 1001. a year, and that more than half were earning from Would the Bishop contend that amongst such men as these 'labour unrest' was 'in its last analysis an appeal for life '? But we need not confine ourselves to comparing the earnings of such men with those of the clergy. Let us compare them with the maximum which could possibly be earned by anybody if the entire income of the nation were divided equally amongst all. Sanguine statisticians, whose estimate we need not dispute here, say that if all the wealth of the country were thus equally divided, there would be an income of 2001. a year for each family of five persons, of whom, on an average, two and a half would be earners. With regard, then, to the majority of those lately on strike, it is evident that their household incomes (even if we take the earners per family to be not more than two) were, at the time of the strike, from 20 to 100 per cent. more than could possibly fall to their share were the lot of all households equal. If the action of such men in striking was simply 'an appeal for life'-if it means that they cannot live in any true sense of the word unless their present earnings are increased—it is impossible for the nation as a whole so to live at all; for not all that can be produced by all the muscle

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and all the brains of the population can produce enough to provide each individual household with what the Bishop would apparently regard as the minimum of proper human subsistence. We need merely go back to the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria, and the moral of the case will become more apparent still. If the maximum average income theoretically possible for each family to-day would be insufficient in the case of any family to satisfy 'the appeal for life' (and this must be so if colliers earning more than that maximum are 'appealing for life' still), what must have been the position of the population only two All the productive forces existing in this country would not have sufficed, under any conceivable scheme generations ago? of distribution, to have lifted it half-way towards the level at which the kind of life begins which alone, according to the Bishop, is fit for a human being. Whatever hardship may have been caused during quite recent years by a rise in the cost of certain articles o al consumption, real wages to-day are at least 75 per cent. grader than they were at the time of the opening of the first Great Exhibition, yet 'labour unrest,' according to the Bishop's own admission, is to-day more acute than it was then. The gains of the masses during the intervening sixty years have been greater than any that can be looked for at the present moment, even if in businesses such as mining the entire value of the products were divided amongst the manual workers. What reason, then, is there for expecting that the kind of unrest which a gain of 75 per cent. has merely had the effect of developing, would be checked or converted into contentment by a gain of 10 per cent., or even of 15 or 20 per cent.?

As soon as the primary needs of life are satisfied, together with the secondary needs which habit and custom have rendered primary, what causes unrest, in respect of economic conditions, is not (let me repeat) the limitations of what men have, but the relation of these to the amount of what they imagine that they

And here we are brought back again to the question of educaought to have, and may practically secure. Labour unrest, in its distinctively contemporary sense, having its origin mainly in the ranks of the most prosperous, not of the poorest workers, has its origin not in the wants of the body but in exaggerated expectations of the mind—in the development of ideals which, whatever may be their character otherwise, have no correct relation to the facts and possibilities They are due, on the one hand, to purely illusory conceptions of the amount of wealth produced or producible in given country; and on the other—and this is the more important cause of the two-to wholly illusory onceptions of the part played by the labour of the average make in the productive process

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of to-day. An interesting illustration of this latter fact occurs in an article lately published in the Morning Post on the Labour College at Earl's Court. This article contains a quotation from a statement made by one of the students, who was apparently there equipping himself for the business of an active agitator. The employing classes, he said, whatever may be their brains and abilities, 'can do nothing for us which we cannot do for ourselves,' meaning by 'ourselves' the mass of average workers whose livelihood at present comes to them in the form of wages. This idea is the natural result of general education on a class to which it is still novel. It is a kind of idea like that produced in a boy who, placed for the first time on the back of an ambling donkey, at once imagines that he could sit a galloping raceborse.

Of all writers from whom one might think he would be unlikely to derive any light on social and educational problems, amongst the least likely is perhaps the poet Keats. And yet in his preface to one of the later editions of Endymion he suppose the following observations, which are most pertinent to the present

matter:

'The imagination of a boy,' he says, 'is healthy, and the mature imagination of a man is healthy; but there is a space of life between, in which the soul is in a ferment, the character undecided, the way of life uncertain, and the ambitions thick-sighted. Thence proceeds melancholia, and all the thousand bitters.'

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Such is very much the condition of those sections of the wage-earning population amongst which, in its acuter forms, the 'unrest' of to-day is most noticeable. The question, then, arises-what kind of cure for this malady may be looked for in the future? That an actual augmentation of wages may form a part of our future history, just as it has formed a feature of our past for a period of more than a century, and that ameliorations in conditions of housing may take place likewise, the importance of which would be even greater, are results to which we may look forward with confidence if the vitality and efficiency of our present system is maintained. But, as I have said before, and as I remark once again, such improvements, in themselves, would do nothing to allay the spirit of contemporary unrest: nor would they even tend to do so. The real remedy is to be looked for partly in some modifications of our present educational methods; but still more in the fact that the multitude, in proportion as they become accustomed to education and fail to derive from it any of the thrills of novelty, will discover how little it can do to alter their relations to the purningent facts of life. Their present illusions as to its enlarg, sort of their own powers, and as to the claims and expectations which have

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